National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT...WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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The Peculiar Institution.

THE LEMMON SLAVES.

A FAMILY SKETCH.

THE Lemmon slaves, or rather freemen, are now safe in Canada. We say *safe*, whatever decision the Supreme Court may arrive at upon the appeal from the judgment delivered by Judge Paine, in their case; and though in the event of its being adverse to their freedom, Lemmon and his wife should refuse to carry into effect their promise to manumit them. Some interesting facts in regard to this family, and illustrative of the "peculiar institutions of the South," have come to our knowledge, which we now propose briefly to narrate.

About 14 years ago, there lived in Bath County, Va., a planter, who was commonly called "Billy Douglass." He had six children, to each of whom he gave a slave about their own age when they were quite young. These slaves grew up with his children, and became, in due time, their attendants. When Douglass died, he possessed about forty slaves, which were divided among his family, and by that means became separated from each other, the Douglass family then residing in different parts of Virginia. Among the slaves given away was a boy named Levi; he fell to the lot of Mary Douglass, by whom, until her marriage, he was well treated. When he was about 10 years of age, his mistress married a man of no very reputable character, of the name of Simmons. As soon as he became master of the slaves of his wife, their situation was materially changed for the worse. Levi, and another slave of the name of James Wright, had ventured to ask their mistress not to marry this Simmons, for they feared his cruel treatment. This fact came to his knowledge, and to punish their audacity he determined to sell them to the far South. Having learned that a negro trader, of the name of Witheroe, was at a town twelve miles off, on his way to Alabama, with a coffle of 39 slaves, he brought him to his house, where he saw Levi and Wright, and privately struck a bargain for them.

The manner in which they were inspected by Witheroe, though intended to disarm suspicion, nevertheless aroused it, and became the subject of serious consideration between Levi and Wright. They felt persuaded that they had been sold by their master for the Southern market, but they resolved that they would not go thither, and made their arrangements accordingly.

The morning after their sale had been effected, Witheroe made his appearance, accompanied by several men, and announced to Levi and Wright the fact that they were his slaves, and must proceed immediately to join the coffle, then waiting for them at the neighbouring town. Handcuffs were produced, and were about being placed on their wrists, when they stated that it was unnecessary that they should be so fastened, as they were quite willing and ready to go with him anywhere, for they were tired of living with Simmons. Witheroe thereupon consented to let them go with him unfettered. Knowing the country well, Levi and Wright planned their escape so as most effectually to baffle the pursuit of Witheroe and his party. Having taken a hearty leave of such fellow slaves as were near, they set out, with apparent cheerfulness, with the negro trader; but they had not been more than half an hour on the road, when, as they had preconcerted, they suddenly leaped over a fence, and being active young men, were soon buried in the depths of the adjacent wood, whither their pursuers in vain strove to follow them. They felt the importance of hastening their steps, and travelled as fast as they were able, a distance of sixty miles. At the end of their journey they obtained shelter and refreshment among some slaves whom they had formerly known in their own neighbourhood. As soon as they had sufficiently rested, they started for Ohio, but, by some mishap, were seen and pursued by a party of twenty-five men.

They exerted themselves to the utmost to escape, but Wright only was able to effect it. Levi was taken and put in jail, where he was duly advertised as a runaway. There he was confined five weeks, waiting the arrival of his owner. In the meantime, being an excellent dancer, he managed to get in the good graces of the jailor, who invited white people to come and see his feats. They often gave him pieces of money, and finding that his keeper was fond of whiskey, he liberally supplied him with it out of the proceeds. Having made his arrangements for his escape from this prison-house, he seized his opportunity, when his keeper was in a state of complete intoxication—and he had no one to oppose his progress but the keeper's wife. Having easily overcome her resistance, he fled a second time for Ohio, where, after incredible fatigue, and almost famished for want of food, he safely arrived. There he fell in with the managers of the "Underground Railroad," and was soon placed by them in a position of comparative safety. After labouring some time in the country, he removed to Cleveland, and there he became a waiter in one of the hotels, where for a while we must leave him and return to his fellow fugitive James Wright. He succeeded, after great exertion, in reaching Ohio, and by the aid cheerfully rendered by the friends of the flying slave, was safely forwarded to Canada, where he now follows the occupation of a farmer, and can sit under the shelter of his own roof, "none daring to make him afraid."

Levi having engaged with Wright, that in case they should be separated in their flight and afterwards be fortunate enough to reach Canada, they would meet at Malden—he, in August, last year, went thither to make inquiries. At that time he knew not whether Wright was dead or alive, a freeman or a slave, and scarcely ventured to hope that he should meet him again. However, on his arrival at Malden, he found that Wright was cultivating a small farm on shares, a few miles off, and was doing well. He soon had the satisfaction of meeting him, and their joy was unbounded, when they grasped each other's hands in a land of freedom. Levi had the additional gratification of meeting two of his cousins in Malden, who had previously escaped from "the house of bondage." Finding some of his relations and friends in this town and neighbourhood, and not judging himself quite secure from the operation of the "Fugitive Slave Law," in Cleveland, he purchased, out of his earnings, a small lot of land, determining to settle in Malden as soon as he conveniently could. With this prospect in view, he returned to Cleveland, and there resumed his occupation as a waiter.

One morning, while the case of the Lemmon slaves was under adjudication at New York, he heard read the particulars, and at once discovered in them near and dear relations. He immediately put himself in communication with a friend in Cleveland, who telegraphed the fact to one of the Committee in New York, when, after due caution, it was determined that he should proceed thither, without delay; this he did, and we had the satisfaction of knowing that in Nancy he found a sister, in Emeline an aunt, in their children nephews and cousins, and in the two youths who were with them, brothers. But this was not all; he announced James Wright to be the husband of Nancy and the father of her children. Thus, by a wonderful interposition of Providence, have these poor people been brought together again under happy circumstances, instead of having to wear out a miserable existence on the slave plantations of Alabama and Texas.

The case of Emeline is distinguished from that of Nancy, in one or two particulars. Her first husband, Tom Reynolds, was sold by his master, a man of the name of Wood, to a planter of the name of Cobb Reynolds, residing somewhere on James' River. He was thus separated from his wife and children, and they from him. Finding it was not probable that he would ever see his wife again, or be able to do anything for her, he sent her word to that effect, and released her from her obligations to him. She subsequently formed a new connection with another slave, the father of one or two of her younger children, from whom she is now separated. Whether her first husband is still alive, or where her second husband now is, Levi, from whose lips we received the foregoing particulars, could not say, and Emeline, having left New York, could not be consulted.

The mother of Levi is still in Slavery, with eight of her children, and these are in the hands of four different slaveholders. The oldest of her children in Slavery is 25 years old, the youngest an infant, born since Levi's escape.

We make no comment on the case here presented; it will speak for itself; but we would ask every man who prefers justice to expediency, humanity to the cold-blooded schemes of selfish politicians, and persistent slaveholders, how long a system so degrading to man and so dishonouring to God, shall be permitted to continue? More particularly would we ask those gentleman who contributed so liberally to indemnify the Lemmons for the loss of their slaves, whether they will not further exhibit their beneficence, by contributing a sum to purchase the remaining slaves, Maria and her children, and send them into Canada to enjoy the liberty denied them in the United States?—*Tribune.*

THE KIDNAPPING CASE.

NARRATIVE OF THE SEIZURE AND RECOVERY OF SOLOMON NORTHROP.

INTERESTING DISCLOSURES.

[From the N. Y. Daily Times.]

WE have obtained from Washington the subjoined statement of the circumstances attending the seizure and recovery of the negro man Solomon Northrop, whose case had excited so high a degree of interest. The material facts in the history of the transaction have already been given, but this narrative will be found a more complete and authentic record than has yet appeared:

SOLOMON NORTHROP, the subject of the following narrative, is a free coloured citizen of the United States; was born in Essex County, New York, about the year 1808; became early a resident of Washington County, and married there in 1829. His father and mother resided in the County of Washington about fifty years, till their decease, and were both free. With his wife and children he resided at Saratoga Springs in the Winter of 1841, and while there was employed by two gentlemen to drive a team South, at the rate of a dollar a day. In fulfilment of his employment he proceeded to New York, and having taken out free papers, to show that he was a citizen, he went on to Washington City, where he arrived the second day of April, the same year, and put up at Gadsby's Hotel. Soon after he arrived, he felt unwell and went to bed.

While suffering with severe pain, some persons came in, and seeing the condition he was in, proposed to give him some medicine, and did so. That is the last thing of which he had any recollection until he found himself chained to the floor of Williams' slave pen in this City, and handcuffed. In the course of a few hours, James H. Burch, a slave-dealer, came in, and the coloured man asked him to take the irons off from him, and wanted to know why they were put on. Burch told him it was none of his business. The coloured man said he was free and told where he was born. Burch called in a man by the name of Ebenezer Rodbury, and they two stripped the man and laid him across a bench, Rodbury holding him down by his wrists. Burch whipped him with a paddle until he broke that, and then with a cat-o'-nine tails, giving him a hundred lashes, and he swore he would kill him if he ever stated to any one that he was a free man. From that time forward, the man says he did not communicate the fact from fear, either that he was a free man, or what his name was, until the last summer. He was kept in the slave pen about ten days, when he, with others, was taken out of the pen in the night, by Burch, handcuffed and shackled, and taken down the river by a steamboat, and then to Richmond, where he, with forty-eight others, was put on board the brig Orleans. There Burch left them. The brig sailed for New Orleans, and on arriving there, before she was fastened to the wharf, Theophilus Freeman, another slave-dealer, belonging in the city of New Orleans, and who, in 1838, had been a partner with Burch in the slave trade, came to the wharf and received the slaves as they were landed, under his direction. This man was immediately taken by Freeman and shut up in his pen in that city. He was taken sick with the small pox immediately after getting there, and was sent to a Hospital, where he lay two or three weeks. When he had sufficiently recovered to leave the hospital, Freeman declined to sell him to any person in that vicinity, and sold him to a Mr. Ford, who resided in Rapides parish, in Louisiana, where he was taken and lived a little more than a year, and worked as a carpenter, working with Ford at that business.

Ford became involved and had to sell him. A Mr. Tibaut became the purchaser. He in a short time sold him to Edwin Eppes in Bayou Beouf, about one hundred and thirty miles from the mouth of Red River, where Eppes has retained him on a Cotton plantation since the year 1843.

To go back a step in the narrative, the man wrote a letter, in June, 1841, to Henry B. Northrop, of the State of New York, dated and post marked at New Orleans, stating that he had been kidnapped and was on board a vessel, but was unable to state what his destination was; but requesting Mr. N. to aid him in recovering his freedom, if possible. Mr. N. was unable to do anything in his behalf in consequence of not knowing where he had gone, and not being able to find any trace of him. His place of residence remained unknown until the month of September last, when the following letter was received by his friends:

BAYO BEOUF, August, 1852.

MR. WM. PENNY, OR MR. LEWIS PARKER:

GENTLEMEN: It having been a long time since I have seen or heard from you, and not knowing that you are living, it is with uncertainty that I write to you; but the necessity of the case must be my excuse. Having been born free just across the river from you, I am certain you must know me; and I am here now a slave. I wish you to obtain free papers for me, and forward them to me at Marksville, La., Parish of Avoyelles, and oblige Yours, SOLOMON NORTHROP.

On receiving the above letter, Mr. N. applied to Governor Hunt, of New York, for such authority as was necessary for him to proceed to Louisiana, as an agent to procure the liberation of Solomon. Proof of his freedom was furnished to Governor Hunt, by affidavits of several gentlemen, Gen. Clarke among others. Accordingly, in pursuance of the laws of New York, Henry B. Northrop was constituted an agent to take such steps, by procuring evidence, retaining counsel, &c., as were necessary to secure the freedom of Solomon, and to execute all the duties of his agency. He left Sandy Hill, in New York, on the 14th of December last, and came to the city of Washington, and stated the facts of the case to Hon. Pierre Soule, of Louisiana; Hon. Mr. Conrad, Secretary of War, from New Orleans, and Judge Nelson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and other gentleman. They furnished Mr. N. with strong letters to gentlemen residing in Louisiana, urging their assistance in accomplishing the object of restoring the man to freedom.

From Washington, Mr. N. went, by the way of Pittsburgh and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to the mouth of the Red River, and thence up that river to Marksville, in the parish of Avoyelles, where he employed Hon. John P. Waddill, an eminent lawyer of that place, and consulted with him as to the best means of finding and obtaining possession of the man. He soon ascertained there was no such man at Marksville, nor in that vicinity. Bayou Beouf, the place where the letter was dated, was twenty-three miles distant, at its nearest point, and is seventy miles in length. For reasons which it is unnecessary to give, the very providential manner in which the residence of the man was ascertained, cannot now be given, although the circumstances would add much to the interest of the narrative. But he was found without great difficulty, and legal proceedings commenced. A process was placed in the hands of a Sheriff, directing him to proceed to Bayou Beouf and take the coloured man into his possession, and wait the order of the Court in regard to his right to freedom. The next day, the owner, with his counsel, came to Marksville, and called upon Mr. N., who exhibited to them the commission which he had received from the Governor of New York, and the evidence in his possession relating to the man's being a free citizen of New York.

Eppes' counsel, after examining it, stated to his client that the evidence was ample and satisfactory; that it was perfectly useless to litigate the question further, and advised him by all means to deliver the coloured man up, in order that he might be carried back to the State of New York, in pursuance of the Governor's requisition. An article was drawn up between the claimant and Mr. Northrop, the counsel for the coloured man, and recorded in accordance with the laws of the place, showing that the coloured man was free. Having settled everything satisfactorily, the agent and the rescued man started for New Orleans on the 4th of January instant, and, on arriving there, traced the titles of the coloured man from Tibaut to Eppes, from Lord to Tibaut, and from Freeman to Ford—all the titles being recorded in the proper books kept for that purpose.

Having traced the titles back as far as possible in New Orleans, the party then proceeded to the City of Washington, where Burch lived; and on making inquiry, found who was the keeper of the slave pen in that City in 1841; and also ascertained from the keeper, upon the coloured man (Solomon N.) being pointed out to him, that he was placed in that pen in the Spring of 1841, and then kept for a short period by Burch.

Immediately upon the receipt of this information, complaint was made before the Police of Washington against Burch, for kidnapping and selling into Slavery this free coloured man. The warrant for his arrest was issued on the 17th instant by Justice Goddard, and returned before Justice Mansell. Burch was arrested and held to bail in the sum of $3,000, Shekels, a slave-trader of seventeen years' standing, going his bail.

It is but justice to say that the authorities of Avoyelles, and indeed at New Orleans, rendered all the assistance in their power to secure the establishment of the freedom of this unfortunate man, who had been snatched so villainously from the land of freedom, and compelled to undergo sufferings almost inconceivable in this land of heathenism, where Slavery exists with features more revolting than those described in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

On the 18th instant, at 10 o'clock, both parties appeared before the magistrate. Senator Chase from Ohio, Gen. Clark and Henry B. Northrup, being counsel for the plaintiff, and J. H. Bradley for the defendant. Gen. Clark and E. H. Northrup, who were sworn as witnesses on the part of the prosecution, and established the foregoing facts: On the part of the defendant, Benjamin Shekels and B. A. Thorn were sworn. The prosecution offered the coloured man who had been kidnapped, as a witness on the part of the prosecution, but it was objected to, and the Court decided that it was inadmissable. The evidence of this coloured man was absolutely necessary to prove some facts on the part of the prosecution, as he alone was cognizant of them.

Mr. Shekels, who had been, as before stated, a slave trader in the City of Washington seventeen years, testified that some ten or twelve years ago he was keeping public house in this city; that Burch boarded at the house and carried on the business of buying and selling slaves; that in that year, two white men came into his barroom and stated that they had a slave for sale. Mr. Burch immediately entered into a negotiation for his purchase. The white men stated that they were from Georgia; had brought the negro with them from that State, and wished to sell him to be carried back to that State; that the negro expressed a willingness to be sold in order to return to Georgia; Shekels, however, was unable to state the names of either of the white men, or the name of the coloured man; was unacquainted with either of them previous to that time, and had never seen either since that transaction; that he saw them execute a bill of sale to Burch, saw Burch pay him $625 and take the bill of sale, and that he read that bill, but could not tell who was the vendor nor who was the person sold, as appeared by the bill of sale.

Mr. Thorn was next called upon the stand, and testified that he was in this tavern in the Spring of the year 1841, and saw a white man negotiating a trade with Burch for a coloured man; but whether this was the coloured man or not, he could not tell for he never saw either white man or coloured man but that once, and did not know whether or not Burch bought and paid for him.

Burch himself was next offered as a witness in his own behalf, to prove the loss of the bill of sale. His evidence was objected to by the prosecution, but was allowed by the Court. He testified that he had the bill of sale and had lost it, and did not know what had become of it. The counsel for the prosecution requested the Court to send a police officer to bring the books of Burch, containing his bills of sales of negroes for the year 1841 and previous years. They were fortunately procured, but no bill of sale was found of this coloured man by any name. Upon this positive evidence that the man had been in the possession of Burch and that he had been in Slavery for a period of more than eleven years, the Court decided that the testimony of the slave trader established the fact that Burch came honestly by him, and consequently discharged the defendant. The counsel for the defendant had drawn up, before the defendant was discharged, an affidavit signed by Burch, and had a warrant out against the coloured man, for a conspiracy with the two white men before referred to, to defraud Burch out of $625. The warrant was served, and the coloured man arrested and brought before Officer Goddard. Burch and his witnesses appeared in Court, and H. B. Northrop appeared as counsel for the coloured man, stating that he was ready to proceed as counsel on the part of the defendant, and asking no delay whatever. Burch, after consulting privately for a short time with Shekels, stated to the Magistrate that he wished him to dismiss the complaint, as he would not proceed further with it. Defendant's counsel stated to the Magistrate that, if the complaint was withdrawn, it must be withdrawn without the request or consent of the defendant. Burch then asked the Magistrate to let him have the complaint and the warrant, and he took them. The counsel for the defendant objected to his receiving them, and insisted that they should remain as a part of the records of the Court, and that the Court should indorse the proceeding which had been had under the process. Burch delivered them up, and the Court rendered a judgment of discontinuance by the request of the prosecutor, and filed it in his office.

The condition of this coloured man during the nine years that he was in the hands of Eppes, was of a character nearly approaching that described by Mrs. Stowe, as the condition of "Uncle Tom" while in that region. During that whole period his hut contained neither a floor, nor a chair, nor a bed, nor a mattrass, nor anything for him to lie upon except a board about twelve inches wide, with a block of wood for his pillow, and with a single blanket to cover him, while the walls of his hut did not by any means protect him from the inclemency of the weather. He was sometimes compelled to perform acts revolting to humanity, and outrageous in the highest degree. On one occasion, a coloured girl belonging to Eppes, about 17 years of age, went one Sunday without the permission of her master, to the nearest plantation, about half a mile distant, to visit another coloured girl of her acquaintance. She returned in the course of two or three hours, and for that offence she was called up for punishment, which Solomon was required to inflict. Eppes compelled him to drive four stakes into the ground at such distances that the hands and ancles of the girl might be tied to them, as she lay with her face upon the ground; and having thus fastened her down, he compelled him, while standing by himself, to inflict one hundred lashes upon her bare flesh, she being stripped naked. Having inflicted the one hundred blows, Solomon refused to proceed any further. Eppes tried to compel him to go on, but he absolutely set him at defiance and refused to murder the girl. Eppes then seized the whip and applied it until he was to weary to continue it. Blood flowed from her neck to her feet, and in this condition she was compelled the next day to go into the field to work as a field hand. She bears the marks still upon her body, although the punishment was inflicted four years ago.

When Solomon was about to leave, under the care of Mr. Northrop, this girl came from behind her hut, unseen by her master, and throwing her arms around the neck of her Solomon, congratulated him on his escape from Slavery, and his return to his family, at the same time in language of despair exclaiming, "But, Oh, God! what will become of me?"

These statements regarding the condition of Solomon while with Eppes, and the punishment and brutal treatment of the coloured girls, are taken from Solomon himself. It has been stated that the nearest plantation was distant from that of Eppes a half mile, and of course there could be no interference on the part of neighbours in any punishment however cruel, or however well disposed to interfere they might be.

By the laws of Louisiana, no man can be punished there for having sold Solomon into Slavery wrongfully, because more than two years had elapsed since he was sold; and no recovery can be had for his services, because he was bought without the knowledge that he was a free citizen.

SALE OF SLAVES IN WASHINGTON.

Piano Forte, Household and Kitchen Furniture, Negro Boy, Horses, Harness, Carryall, Carts, Farming Utensils, &c., at Auction.—On Saturday morning, December 11, at 11 o'clock, in front of the Auction Rooms, I shall sell without reserve, &c. &c., at twelve o'clock—

One Negro Boy, 18 years of age.
Also, a Negro Girl.
3 Horses, Saddles, Bridles, and Harness.
Carryall, 2 Carts, Wheelbarrow.
Hay Rake, 2 Ploughs, Cultivator.
Hay Cart, lot of Farm Harness, &c.

Terms, Cash. JAS. C. MCGUIRE, Auctioneer.

The above advertisement appeared in the *National Intelligencer* for several days prior to the sale. Pursuant thereto, a crowd collected at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 10th street, on Tuesday morning. After the sale of horses, cows, and farming utensils, the human cattle were put up, viz.: a boy —— years old, and a girl —— years old. On putting up the boy, the auctioneer said that he would give any man $25 if he would relieve him of the disagreeable duty of selling those children. No one offering to relieve him, he proceeded to sell them. He stated that he was informed that the boy was restricted to the District, which he believed was the fact; that the boy was deaf, had a running in his head, and was an invalid; that he was the pet of his mother, who was present, in great distress, and desired, as did also the relatives of the family to whom he belonged, not to be separated from him. These children were part of the estate of Jesse Brown, deceased, late proprietor of "Brown's Hotel," and it was known that Marshall Brown (one of the heirs) was present for the purpose of buying the boy, if sold at a reasonable price, that he might not be separated from his mother. The bidding commenced, and he was struck off to Mr. Brown, at $325, when a man by the name of Naylor, a trader, claimed the bid as his, and insisted upon the negro being struck off to him. Mr. Brown averred that the bid was his, and claimed the boy. Naylor threatened to prosecute the auctioneer if he did not get him. After much cavilling among the bidders, the boy was again put up, and this man Naylor advanced the bid to $330, when the auctioneer, prompted by feelings of humanity, offered him $25 if he would not bid more. This offer was accepted, with the Christian remark, that he (Naylor) "*had as lief make $25 in this way as to make it out of a nigger.*" So the $25 was paid over, and the poor trembling boy was delivered to Mr. Brown.

The girl, only ten years of age, was next set up, and, in the presence of its agonized mother, was struck off to Judge Sturgis, of Georgia, for the sum of $——; and this child is now probably on its way to that distant State, where she will most likely drag out a miserable existence in the cotton-field, without a single friend on whom to rely in case of sickness or distress!

This all took place in a Christian community, within half a mile of the Capitol of this *free* and *enlightened* nation, where sat, at the very time this disgraceful scene was going on, the Representatives of a people whose laws are based on the principle of equal rights and privileges, and who have declared "that all men are created free and equal!"

This is one of many cases that proves the truth of Mrs. Stowe's assertion—*that families are separated.* Indeed, we here only wonder that it has been denied, for every week we *know* of instances where one or more out of a family of slaves are sold and carried South.—*National Era.*

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

MR. EDITOR: I see by your paper that some persons deny the statements of Mrs. Stowe. I have read her book, every word of it. I was born in East Tennessee, near Knoxville, and, we thought, in an enlightened part of the Union, much favoured in our social, political and religious privileges, &c. Well, I think about the year 1829, or perhaps '28, a good old German Methodist owned a black man named Robin—a Methodist preacher and the manager of the farm, distillery, &c., salesman and financier. This good old German Methodist had a son named Willey, a schoolmate of mine, and, as times were, a first rate fellow. The old man also owned a keen, bright-eyed mulatto girl, and Willey, the naughty fellow, became enamoured of the poor girl. The result was soon discovered, and our good old German Methodist told his brother Robin to flog the girl for her wickedness. Brother Robin said he could not and would not perform such an act of cruelty as to flog the girl for what she could not help; and for that act of disobedience old Robin was flogged by the good old German brother until he could not stand. He was carried to bed, and some three weeks thereafter—when my father left the State—he was yet confined to his bed from the effects of that flogging.

Again: in the fall of 1836, I went South for my health, stopped at a village in Mississippi, and obtained employment in the largest house in the country, as a book-keeper with a firm from Louisville, Ky. A man residing near the village, a bachelor, 30 years of age, became embarrassed, and executed a mortgage to my employer, on a fine, likely boy, weighing about 200 lbs., quick-witted, active, obedient, and remarkably faithful, trusty and honest, so much so that he was held up as an example. He had a wife that he loved. His owner cast his eyes upon her, and she became his paramour. His boy remonstrated with his master, told him that he tried faithfully to perform every duty, that he was a good and faithful "nigger" to him, and it was hard, after he had toiled hard all day, and till ten o'clock at night, to have his domestic relations interfered with and broken up. The white man denied the charge and the wife also denied it. One night, about the 1st of September, the boy came home earlier than usual, say about 9 o'clock. It was a wet, dismal night; made a fire in his cabin, went to get his supper, and received ocular demonstration of the guilt of his master. He became enraged, as I suppose any man would, seized a butcher knife and cut his master's throat, stabbed his wife in twenty-seven places, came to the village and knocked at the office door. I told him to come in. He did so, and asked for my employer. I called him. The boy then told him that he had killed his master, and his wife, and what for. My employer locked him up, and he, a doctor, and myself, went out to the house of the old bachelor, and found him dead, and the boy's wife nearly so. She, however, lived.

We returned to the village, watched the boy till about sunrise, left him locked up, and went to get our breakfasts, intending to take the boy to jail (as it was my employer's interest, if possible, to save the boy, having $1,000 at stake in him). But whilst we were eating, some persons who had heard of the murder broke open the door, took the poor fellow, put a log chain round his neck, and started him for the woods at the point of the bayonet, marching by where we were eating, with a great deal of noise. My employer, hearing it, ran out and rescued the boy. The mob again broke in, took the boy, and marched him, as before stated, out of town.

My employer then begged them not to disgrace their town in such a manner; but to appoint a jury of twelve SOBER men, to decide what should be done. And twelve as sober men as could be found (I was not sober) said he must be hanged. They then tied a rope round his neck, and set him on an old horse. He made a speech to the mob, which I at the time thought, if it had come from some Senator, would have been received with rounds of applause; and he was more calm, withal, than I am in writing this. And after he had told all about the deed, and its cause, he kicked the horse out from under him, and was launched into eternity. My employer has often said, that he never saw any thing more noble in his whole life than the conduct of that boy.

Now, Mr. Editor, I have given you facts and can give you names and dates. You can do what you think is best for the cause of humanity. I hope I have seen the evil of my former practices, and will endeavour to reform. Very respectfully,

—*New York Evangelist.* JAMES L. HILL.

[Editorial Correspondence of the Oneida Telegraph.]

A Slave Incident—Uncle Tom's Cabin—Landing of a Mississippi Steamboat—River Scenery—Sugar Plantations, &c., &c.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER, Dec. 4th,
STEAMER FANNY SMITH.

DEAR FROST: In my letter of the 1st., I alluded to an occurrence that has just been reported to me, the particulars of which I am now able to lay before you. At Louisville, a gentleman took passage, having with him a family of blacks—husband, wife and children. The master was bound for Memphis, Tenn., at which place he intended to take all except the man ashore; the latter was hand-cuffed, and although his master said nothing of his intention, the negro made up his mind from appearances, as well as from the remarks of those around him, that he was destined for the *southern market*. We reached Memphis during the night, and whilst within sight of the town, just before landing, the negro caused his wife to divide their things, as though resigned to the intended separation, and then taking a moment, when his master's back was turned, ran forward and plunged into the river. Of course he sank, and his master was several hundred dollars poorer than a moment before, that was all—at least, scarcely any one mentioned it the next morning. I was obliged to get my information from the deck hands, and did not hear a remark concerning it in the cabin. In justice to the master, I should say, that after the occurrence, he disclaimed any intention to separate them. Appearances, however, are quite against him, if I have been rightly informed. This sad affair needs no comment. It is an argument, however, that I might have used to-day, with some effect, whilst talking with a highly intelligent southerner, of the evils of Slavery. He had been reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and spoke of it as a *novel*, which, like other romances, was well calculated to excite the sympathies, by the recital of heart-touching incidents which *never had an existence*, except in the imagination of the writer. But it was not necessary for me to cite instances, as he was too well informed to deny the plain inference, that all these abuses must necessarily arise, wherever *bad men* possessed unlimited power over their fellows; he therefore took the position that the mass of slave owners were actuated by a pious regard for the spiritual and temporal well-being of those under them; a position which some might question.

The bill of lading of a Mississippi steamboat would be almost a curiosity to you. I was quite amused myself, after the lading was complete, by an examination of the various "traps and calamities" which made our floating palace seem like a miniature "world's fair," containing all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life. In the "live stock" line, we have a number of horses, a large flock of sheep, several calves (one of which just jumped overboard, and is attempting to "navigate" to the amusement of passengers), and about *sixty* asses (not including the moustached bipeds on the second deck). Besides these, we have several hundred hens, ducks, geese and turkies, upon the hurricane deck, directly above our state rooms, and as they seem to have no idea as to the proper *time* to deliver themselves of their "cack-quack-gobble," it generally "comes off" with greatest effect soon after I have retired for the night, the confusion of Babel most *foully* reenacted. Down in the hold we have, by the hogshead and barrel, sugar, tobacco, flour and whiskey; elsewhere, corn, coils of rope, rolls of leather, platform scales, 300 cabbage heads; and forward, on the top of a pile of boxes, trunks, and hardware, fringed with saddles, bridles, saddle-bags, and other "plunder" are arranged; two innocent looking boxes, not at all like coffins, which came from the Marine hospital at Louisville, and, I am privately informed, contain indications that two more have "gone over to the majority" "*abiunt ad plures.*" But I cannot enumerate particulars.

We reach New Orleans to night. This day has been a very pleasant one, and the scenery, as we approach the city, is much more interesting.—Hitherto the river has been fringed with an almost interminable growth of cotton-wood, only broken at intervals by a plantation, or a little village, dignified with the name of *city* if it should be as large as Oneida Depot. Now we have no forest near the river, but sugar plantations, rather picturesque to a stranger, line the banks on either side. A. K. E.

GREAT INVENTION FOR NEGRO CLOTHING.—The Mississippi *Free Trader* says: The best invention we have yet heard of has been related to us by Zebulon York, Esq., which he received from a wealthy and influential planter, Mr. Johnson, of the lower part of Concordia parish.

We give the recipe:

To make Water-proof Sacks for Negroes.—For a plantation of 50 to 100 negroes, take 20 gallons of Linseed Oil, into which mix 3 pounds of Litharge, after the oil shall have been boiled a few moments. The Litharge should be pulverized before being incorporated with the oil and well stirred in.

Previously, an overcoat or sack should have been neatly made from common cotton cloth, called Domestics, long enough to reach below the knees, to be closely buttoned up in front.

When the mixture of oil and Litharge is boiling hot, immerse the garment, wring it as dry as possible and let it hang in the sun for three days, when it will be completely water-proof—an overcoat for the negro, secure against storm or tempest, impervious to the wintry winds, or the chills of the nights. It will cost less than sixty cents per sack, and last one or two years.

Selections.

CUBA AND CANADA.

HALE IN REPLY TO CASS.

From the Debate in the Senate on Tuesday, Jan. 18, on Cass' Cuba Resolution.

MR. HALE—Mr. President, as I introduced an amendment to this resolution, I intended at some fitting time, if it was the pleasure of the Senate to hear me, to address myself somewhat at length to the subject, and I should have waited until that fitting time had come had not direct allusion been made to so humble an individual as myself, both by the Honourable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) and from South Carolina (Mr. Butler).

On the 5th of March, 1770, several citizens of Boston were shot down in the streets of that city by British soldiery. Of course, it sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the community; and when the fact was announced to a certain patriotic, warm-blooded, and impulsive old gentleman, indignation stirred his heart and mantled his countenance, and the emphatic expression which he uttered deserves to be remembered—deserves to be painted in letters of light upon the wall of the Senate Chamber, in order that we may all remember it, because it seems to be a lesson that is so well practised upon now. Said the old man, "These soldiers must be talked to." That was the height to which he was worked up when American citizens were slaughtered by British troops in the streets of Boston—"These soldiers must be talked to." Well, sir, they were talked to; but it did not amount to anything. I think that is one of our easily besetting sins—talking, everlasting talking. Talking, sir, might do some good, if, when the occasion indicated by the talk comes, we lived up to our words. I have a word or two to say upon this.

The Honourable Senators from Michigan (Mr. Cass) and from South Carolina (Mr. Butler) alluded to a remark which I made the other day, that when the time came for action we should back out. Now, Sir, I trust that I have as high an appreciation of American ability to defend their rights against Great Britain, and against the world, as any Senator here. It was not in reference to any such contingency that I spoke, and whoever will read the debates that were then taking place in the Senate will see it. It was in reference to just exactly what the Honourable Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler) denominated these long advertisements; and I believe it will be universally found to be the case, that the men who deal most in them deal least in action. But, Sir, I have not a doubt, and never had, that on any occasion that affected the interest and honour of this country, where American pride, American feeling, and American patriotism were touched, this country might bid proud defiance to the world, and that without a prefatory admonition to the world of any resolution about what we would do.

Now, I regret that so distinguished a parliamentarian as the honourable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) should have made the long and able speech which he did make—to which I listened with so much pleasure—without coming to the real question which was pending before the Senate. The ques- which was announced by the Chair I understood to be upon the amendment which I had the honour to propose, and that amendment was not whether we should tell Spain that she should not sell Cuba. Why, Spain has told us that she will not sell it; and what good will it do for us to say "you shall not," when Spain says she "will not," and when she has given the best evidence that she is sincere in her determination, in the fact that she has refused a pretty liberal price which we offered her for it? And I think in that she has made her acts vindicate her words. She says she will not sell it. You have offered her a hundred millions of dollars, and she says she will not take it; and now you propose to fortify your position, by announcing to the world that she shall not sell it to anybody else.

And the Honourable Senator thinks we ought to repeat this declaration, because the peculiar circumstances of Cuba are such that she commands the Gulf of Mexico, commands the outlet of the Mississippi River, and she is in a commanding position to obstruct all our commerce and navigation that comes into the Gulf of Mexico, and seeks the mouth of the Mississippi River. Well, Sir, I suppose the people of this country are not so low, their patriotism is not of that doubtful character, nor their bravery of that spurious kind, that they will take a position before a weak nation that they will not assume before a strong one. I use the words weak and strong in a comparative sense, because I look upon Great Britain as a much stronger nation than Spain. Now, I ask if the local position of Canada, in any aspect in which you may view it, either in relation to the interest of peace or war, is not of a thousand-fold more consequence than Cuba? Why, Sir, during the exciting political canvass of 1848—I am speaking historically now—the candidate of the great Democratic party of the nation, which has now swept the country, did not go to bed a single night when he was not within the reach of a British shell that might have been fired into his dwelling from a British mortar (laughter).

MR. CASS—I slept very comfortably, though (laughter).

MR. HALE—He slept very comfortably; for I suppose he had two consoling reflections. One was that he was safe for election, and the other that he was safe from British bombs (laughter). With these convictions, I do not wonder he slept well.

Well, Sir, Canada and the British possessions in the North extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. They border on our inland lakes, and the commerce that finds its way to the Atlantic Coast over these lakes, and through the New York Canals, taking the whole of it, will be found, I think, equal to at least half of all our foreign commerce.

MR. SEWARD and others—More than all.

MR. HALE—More than all, I am told by several Senators around me. The commerce of these lakes and these canals—the internal commerce that is carried on side by side with Great Britain, liable to be interrupted, liable to be destroyed at any moment—exceeds, I am told by Senators, to whose superior wisdom I always bow with great deference, all the foreign commerce of this country.

MR. MANGUM—It is a great mistake.

MR. HALE—While, therefore, we are looking with such anxious eyes at Cuba, while we are speculating upon possible and remote contingencies of how that portion of our commerce is to be affected which finds its way to the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi River—I say, while we are looking at these possible and remote contingencies in relation to the Island of Cuba, I ask those gentlemen who live on the northern coast—those gentlemen who are liable to be waked up in the night by the sound of British cannon on British shores—if it is not worth while for us to turn our attention to our northern borders, to see how the naval and military resources of Canada, in case we have a collision with the British Government, may affect the position, and the safety, and the prosperity of that vast community which borders those lakes and those waters which lie between us and Canada? Is it not as well to intimate to Great Britain that she shall not sell Canada? She may say she has no idea of it. I do not know that. She has never been offered a hundred millions of dollars for it, and it will be time enough, I think, to sit down in safety and security under the impression that Great Britain will upon no consideration part with Canada, when she has refused a hundred million dollars for it. At least, would it not be well, while we are serving notices on all the world of what we mean and what we intend, to pick out somebody that, in the event anticipated, will be very likely to be our antagonist?

I have not time, Mr. President, to go into the details and statistics of these measures, by showing what the intimate and exact state of our commercial relations with these people is, but it is very great and very vast: and I think that while we are declaring to Spain what we will and what we will not submit to in relation to Cuba, it is time to look North a little, and ask the citizens of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and all those States—and Michigan, yes, I like to have forgotten Michigan (laughter)—I appeal to the citizens of all those States, and ask them if it is not worth while to turn a little of that watchful vigilance that has been so freely extended southward, towards the north? Why, Sir, the Honourable Senator from Michigan is in favour of extension and annexation. So am I. But, Sir, I am in favour of having a *little* extension northward.

It is a very remarkable fact in our history, Mr. President, that whenever we have made a treaty that related to our northern boundaries, we have always cut off, and when we have negotiated a treaty relative to our southern boundaries we have taken on. Now, that may be accidental—probably it is entirely so (laughter). But, Sir, there is one thing that must be said of it—it is a remarkable coincidence, very (laughter).

I was saying that it was a remarkable fact in regard to all our negotiations concerning territories, that whenever they related to Northern territory, we gave up, and to Southern territory we took. And I will make another remark in reference to those who are so continually looking at the military aspects of these things. Sir, what did you sell out part of the State of Maine for? What did Great Britain want of it? She did not want to colonise it. She only wanted a military road—only wanted the means of annoying the country in time of war, whenever there was a conflict between the two nations; and we, in the exercise of our Christian meekness, I suppose, which becomes a Christian people, sold out our own territory on the side of the St. Lawrence, to which every department of this Government was pledged to maintain that it was ours, and which was so palpably ours that we could not negotiate it away—sold it to Great Britain, who at the time she bought it told us she wanted it just for a military road between her provinces on the Atlantic and Canada. Now, sir, if there had ever been a time to maintain the Monroe doctrine, I think that was a good one.

But that is not the whole history of the North. The North is a large country, Mr. President, although it does not make much noise on this floor, it is a large country. But how was it on the Oregon question? Our title to that territory, I suppose nobody will deny, unless he means to deny the Polk and Monroe doctrine. Our title to that was clear and indisputable. Well, what did we do? We gave Great Britain three hundred thousand square miles of our indisputable territory for the very purpose of colonisation. Now, according to the doctrines we have had proclaimed this morning, if Mexico or any other country on earth that has possessions on this continent, had undertaken to sell 300,000 square miles of territory, it would have been a cause of war on the part of the United States against the country that bought it. But, sir, we did not sell it; we are clear of that—we only gave it to Great Britain.

Then, once more, in reference to the Islands that lie off the coast—we just gave Great Britain Vancouver's Island, which commands the mouth of the Oregon River.

That is the history of the negotiations of this country, so far as the North is concerned, in refer-

ence to territory; and I say now to the people of the Nor h and representatives of the North, that your commerce lies infinitely more at the mercy of Great Britain to-day than it would if Great Britain owned every one of the West India Islands, and was without her possessions in the North. And I wonder why those gentlemen who are so fond of looking out at our interests southward do not look to the Bahamas. I understand from these gentlemen who are conversant with the matter that these islands are situated in such a position as more effectually to command the commerce of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, than even Cuba itself, and that the course of navigation is such as to bring the commerce that goes into these seas through them more directly—that is, within the reach of the Bahama Islands—than the Island of Cuba. Why don't we notify Great Britain that she shall not sell the Bahamas?

A SENATOR—And Jamaica.

Mr. HALE—And Jamaica. Imagination can hardly conceive what this country would be—what an era of internal improvements, of progress, and of prosperity would open upon this continent—if the Canadas bordering the lakes upon the North were united to this country. Why, sir, it would lessen the necessities of your preparations for war one-half if those lakes and that country belonged to us instead of belonging to Great Britain. And why not make some timely effort? Why not utter some word of warning? Why not give some notice in regard to that country, where we have a real and a vital interest, and where the danger is not remote and contingent, but where it is close at hand, and where we have felt it once in a war with Great Britain? We have felt something of the evils of the contiguity of Canada to the United States.

It is in this view that I want to call the attention of the Senate and the country and the people to our relations with Canada as well as Cuba. Why are we going off the continent—why are we going to the islands of the sea, when right here at our own doors, in our very midst, there is a country that possesses the means of annoying you infinitely more than Cuba ever can? I, sir, will not put myself in a position by which I may be subjected to the suspicion of initiating that it is because Great Britain has more means and ability to defend her possessions than Spain has. It must be something else. We are not so much of the bully and braggart tha we may presume upon the weakness of a nation to tell them that they shall not do a thing, when we dare not tell another nation stronger than that, that she shall not do a like thing which would injure us infinitely more.

Mr. President, the Honourable Senator from Michigan, says we have reached an epech in our history. Well, sir, I have heard of epochs before. Let me tell him an anecdote. I happened once to be present at a small party of gentlemen in the city of Boston. It was about the time of the removal of the deposits by General Jackson; and a young man who was present at the party was full of indignation at the deed, and denounced it as at war with every principle of our Government, and one that would be likely to overthrow it. A sagacious old gentleman who was there threw cold water upon the subject. The young man said, "Sir, I consider this as the very crisis of our experiment." The old man replied, "I have been living in crises all my life." Well, sir, that is just the way with this country. We have been living in epochs from the beginning of the government, and I think we may be denominated as a people of epochs (laughter). They come upon us every day and every hour. Why, sir, the epoch of to-day will be succeeded by the epoch of to-morrow, and one will make about as much impression as the other.

The Honourable Senator from Michigan has found food for his remarks in some comments which he has seen in a Buffalo newspaper. I don't read newspapers, sir, and that is the reason why I don't make so many of these visionary speeches as a great many people do (laughter). That is the reason, too, why my remarks are so practical (laughter).

But there was one remark which fell from him that pained me. All the rest I was gratified at. He says there is no people on the globe that evinces such a want of patriotism as this people.

MR. CASS—I beg pardon—I said there was no country where there were so many persons, unfortunately, who evinced a want of patriotism.

MR. HALE—There was no country on the face of the globe where there were so many people that evinced a want of patriotism as this country. I confess I do not see the difference; but the honourable senator does, and therefore I will give him the full credit of it. But I think, in cooler moments, when the impulses of warm blood have subsided, and the reflection of maturity comes to that senator, he will regret that remark [laughter], because it is an imputation upon the motives of our fellow citizens which I think he will not indulge.

This is a country where freedom of opinion is tolerated to a very great, and, as some gentlemen think, to an alarming extent. It is a country where freedom of opinion finds vent in freedom of words to a very remarkable extent, as we have had illustrated to-day; and it would not be astonishing if, in a country of free thought and free speech, there should at times be sentiments uttered not at all in accordance with the opinions of the majority as to what patriotism may require. But I think that a decent degree of candour and charity will induce us all to do credit to those who differ from us; and if they do not think as we do, we may at least, if we cannot with candour, with charity believe that although they do not see as we do, they are yet none the less friends of their country, true, just, and patriotic.

Both the Honourable Senator from Michigan and the Honourable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Butler] referred to a remark which I made in relation to this country, saying that we would be backing out when the time for action came I wish to say another word upon that point Whenever an emergency does come that calls upon the people of this country to throw aside the pursuits of peace and go out and render themselves, it may be, victims for their country's good—whenever the defence of their firesides and their homes shall call forth the true-hearted and brave who are ready to do and to die in their country's behalf—my word for it, you will not always find the most self-denying patriots among those that have made the loudest professions; but in the quiet retirement of life, in the shade of privacy, you will find hearts that have never given utterance to noisy sentiments—men who have not speculated nor acted upon that course of political events which has had so important an influence upon the destiny of their country, and therefore have not been heard to utter sentiments in regard to what was becoming and not becoming the country. You will find many and many such men as those come forward, who will, by the eloquence of action, put to silence the declaration of those whose hot-headed counsels have plunged the country into what may be an unnecessary war. I think that will be the history of the patriotism of this country.

I have but very little to say for myself. I do not know but when an emergency comes I may be found to be, as Falstaff said on a certain occasion, but little better than a coward. I will not say I would, but I will say this, that if such should be the case, I should be an unfit representative of the people who sent me here. The little State that I have the honour in part to represent for a little while longer [laughter]—although it is not large, nor wealthy, nor great in population—is, I believe, generally admitted to have acted well its part in the great drama of the country's history. I believe that among the patriotic men who have maintained this country's rights in the field, or vindicated them upon the floor of the Senate, those who represented the State of New Hampshire, will not—at least while the Senator from Michigan has a place in the memory of the people—will not cause that State to be ashamed of her history. And I will tell the Honourable Senator that in all the convulsions and trials of war to which the country has been subjected, I believe, of the Old Thirteen, New Hampshire is the only State whose soil was never impressed by the footsteps of the enemy; and that, Sir, although she extends from the Atlantic Ocean to Canada. It may be that the country was too poor to defend itself [laughter]. I will not say that it was not, but I claim the fact of history. Let it go for what it is worth. I think, considering the character of the soil and the people, those who would undertake to invade it, would find it a bad bargain.

I have one single word more to say—and when I use the term "word," I use it in the Pickwickian sense (laughter)—in the sense in which it is used in the Senate, giving to it the meaning which I believe a distinguished friend of ours—now no longer in this body—a Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foote)—gave to the word. I have a word to say about the destiny of the country, about which so much has been said. The honourable Senator from Michigan qualifies it, and says he will not speak of manifest destiny, but he says he don't want to circumscribe it. We want room; there is hardly room enough for us; the country is too narrow. With the Atlantic on one side, and the Pacific on the other, and the Gulf of Mexico for a wash-basin, the domain is rather circumscribed for such a progressive people as we are. Sir I dissent from that sentiment. I do not think that our progress should be in getting more territory, until we have improved what we have got. I do not think that our desires should be to getting more people, until we educate, refine and improve our own—aye, Sir, until we give to those of them who are homeless homes from the vast and immense territory which we now possess. And we don't want any more territory. Our business and our mission are at home. It is to improve upon our advantages; it is to advance; it is to elevate and ameliorate the condition of mankind; it is to show the despots of the old world, by the practical results which are to follow from the experiment which we are making, that the institutions under which we live are those that are most eminently calculated to advance the highest interests of man, and subserve the great purposes of social and civilized society. That is it. It is by the arts of peace, by the multiplication of means of internal communication by railroads and canals, by commerce, by education, by the general diffusion of information, and by all the means which our abundant wealth and power gives us, that we are doing what we can to demonstrate to the world that, so far as the great purposes of the Creator may be understood in the creation of man and placing him on this globe to work out the great experiment of human probation, here are imbodied and here are concentrated the most favorable circumstances for that experiment which the world has ever seen.

And, Sir, while I am upon this question, let me entreat Senators to consider the position in which we are placed. I will take up the remark of the Honourable Senator, and I will say that we do live in an epoch, and a most remarkable one; but it is an epoch which goes back far beyond the mere exciting interests of the day—it goes back to the time when that great principle was first enunciated that Governments were instituted among by their consent and for their good. That is the epoch in which we live; that is the experiment which we are trying. Sir, the history of the world, up to the time of this experiment, shows that the efforts that man had made heretofore for the amelioration of his condition and the elevation of his character had failed, and signally failed; there were not wanting destroying revolutions; there were not wanting times when the people, borne down by oppression, too intolerable to be endured, had risen up in despair and thrown off the yoke with which the tyrant had oppressed them; but, sir, it was only that another tyrant might come and take his place. That was the history of the world up to the time of our experiment; and if it would not seem to be irreverent to undertake to scan the counsels of Omnipotence, when the Almighty had become tired with the successive attempts men had made to govern themselves—to submit themselves to the sway of popular institutions, deriving their support from their own consent—we may imagine the genius of Liberty pleading before the throne of Omnipotence, and asking that one more experiment might be tried. Then, when the fullness of time had come, in the solitudes of ocean, there was revealed to the eye of science the new continent, and the pilgrims, in patriotism and piety, came over here that they might lay anew the foundation of the great Temple of Liberty, and build upon this foundation a superstructure wide enough for the oppressed of all nations to enter in and be at rest. Sir, that is the experiment which we are to try, and that is the experiment which we are to perfect.

Our fathers were aware of the great trust that was committed to their hands, and when they cut loose from the country which had sent them here—sent them here not by their fostering care, but by their oppressions—they proclaimed certain great fundamental and eternal principles as the basis of their government in all time to come; and these, Sir, are eloquently and forcibly imbodied in the Declaration of Independence. Our fathers pledged everything they had—pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their honour—for the maintenance of the principles which they then avowed and put forth. Sir, that pledge is binding upon us. We are in the possession and enjoyment of the privileges which they obtained, and the part that we have to perform is to see that these principles characterize our government and our policy, and that they are carried out to their full development and perfection. That, Sir, I look upon as the mission of this country, and that I look upon as the destiny of this country. We are to see that it is true to its principles, and true to the purposes of a benificent Providence in planting us here. If we forget this, if we are led away and dazzled by the halo of military renown; if our judgments are warped by the graspings of a covetousness which will never be satisfied so long as anybody else owns land contiguous to us;—then, Sir—I have been accused of vaticinating, of prophecying, but it needs no prophet—it needs no other prophecy than that which the light of experience gives us—to foretell to us that we shall fail, utterly fail, and that we shall go the way of the republics that have preceded us.

We have succeeded, some gentlemen think; we have built our fortress so strong that it cannot be shaken; we have established ourselves upon a foundation so firm that there is no danger. How old is your Republic? Not a hundred years yet. How old was the Roman Republic when it was overthrown? I think it was more than six hundred years; and when we have lived half that time, when the wisdom of our institutions and the character of our citizens have been decided by an experience one-half as long as that to which the Roman Republic was subjected, it will be time enough then for us to erect our trophies and set up our monuments, and to say that we have tried and succeeded—that the great experiment has here been tried, and the great question solved, and the truth settled, that man is capable of self-government.

Mr. President, I am not one of those who has his heart full of forebodings of evil, and the Honourable Senator cannot retort upon me when I undertake to say what will be the result of things, the failure of the prophecies of disaster that occurred in the war of 1812. Sir, I tell the Honourable Senator that I was but six years old at that time, and therefore whatever reproaches may be uttered against those that prophesied evil then, I was not one of them; and however much time I may have taken up here in vaticinating, I can say that I did not begin so early as that. No, Sir, my heart is not despairing. I believe that a glorious future is before this country. I believe that a high and glorious destiny awaits her; and I believe that everything that can defeat that glorious destiny which lies waiting for her to grasp is her own unfaithfulness to the principles upon which our institutions are founded. Those principles are not those of conquest or rapine. We are not to be the knights errant of the world, to go abroad over the Continents of the earth and the Islands of the sea, proclaiming the Gospel of our liberty, and fulminating the penalty of our sword against those who will not be baptised into our faith. No, Sir, that is not our destiny. Our destiny is at home. Our destiny is upon our own Continent—upon our own shores. It is to improve, to elevate, to advance. In what? In territory? No, Sir, we have got enough of it. In military renown? No Sir; we have got enough of that. Is there any man, or woman, child within hearing of my voice, disturbed by a single fear that we cannot successfully maintain everything which is our right against any and all the powers of the earth? I believe not Sir.

Before I leave this subject, I want to call the attention of the Senate to another fact. It is one which was alluded to by the Senator from Florida [Mr. Mallory] the other day. Why do you want to repeat this declaration? If you really mean what you say—if you mean that no power of Europe shall colonise any part of the American Continent, or the islands adjacent to—there is a fact—a fixed fact—of which we are notified by the proclamation of the British authorities, which will just exactly put you to the test. There is no need of any inquiry about it. Great Britain has established the colony of the Bay of Islands. If the declaration of President Monroe has the broad meaning which the Senator from Michigan puts to it, there is no occasion for repeating it over again. The time has come. The fact has transpired. The issue is before you. Great Britain is here on the continent. She has colonised the Bay of Islands. She has instituted a government there She has not only done that in violation of the Monroe doctrine, but, if I understand the Honourable Senator from Michigan, in violation of her solemn treaty obligations. Here, then, Sir, is a case for your action. You need not make any professions of what is right for a free and independent nation to do, because the resolution says it will leave us "free to adopt such measures as an independent nation may justly adopt in defence of its rights and its honour." If the resolution has that meaning, the case is before you. The time has come. If you mean what you have said, this is not the time for resolutions, but for action You should satisfy yourselves with no vague declaration that you will do what an independent nation is free to do, when if that means—when if that Monroe doctrine means what it has been contended that it means, it has been violated and trampled under foot. The faith of treaties is violated, and Great Britain, in the face of all this has her colony upon this continent.

For this reason I am opposed to passing this resolution, unless you add Canada to it. If you will put that in, I will not object, if anybody else should put in an amendment notifying all the other Governments of the earth that own any islands about our continent—I don't pretend to be as good a geographer as some other gentlemen—but I should be willing to have the resolution amended to read as broadly as that to serve a general notice to all the Kings and potentates of the earth, that we have money enough to buy them out upon this continent, and will not permit them to sell to anybody else. I am willing, if patriotism requires so wide a margin as that, to agree to it. But I am not willing to pick out Spain in this way. What has Spain done that she should be talked to in this manner? Is it because she has got a rich island, and will not defend it with the same zeal and ability that Great Britain would? I am not willing to make this invidious selection of an individual, if a notice is to be served, when there are so many other occasions for it all about us.

Besides, Sir, Spain is an old ally of ours, as old as the Revolution. Spain furnished us aid in that great struggle by which our liberties were secured. From the time of the treaty of peace in 1783 to the present time, the amicable relations existing between this country and Spain have never been disturbed. There has been no conflict—no collision with her. And now, Sir, why turn around to our old friend—to her who was a friend when we needed a friend—why speak to that nation which has faithfully performed all her treaty stipulations—why speak to the nation which was one of the first to welcome us to the great family of nations, and to lend us her treasure to aid us in that conflict and which has maintained firm and inviolable friendship ever since—why, at this time, begin to speak to her in this threatening, this insolent manner, this tone of superiority, and tell her she shall not do as she pleases with her own island? while Great Britain, with whom we have crossed arms twice—Great Britain, who has neglected to perform her treaty stipulations with us, and is situated in reference to us in a position that enables her to annoy us to a degree vastly greater than Spain could do, is omitted.

I am opposed to the resolution—decidedly opposed to it, unless it is made general. If it shall be made general, and if the wisdom of the Senate thinks that it is meet and proper that the resolution should be then passed, and that this notice should be served upon all mankind, I will agree to it, with a proviso that this time the resolution shall never be outlawed, and that we shall not be under the necessity of renewing it again; but that all nations, for all time to come, shall take notice that this is the only market in which they can dispose of their colonies, or any part of them. But I apprehend that the Senator from Michigan, for whom I entertain none but the kindest feelings and the most profound respect, will not go so far.

Mr. CASS (in his seat)—I will tell you when the time comes.

Mr. HALE—I think the time has come now. I think that is the mistake. I think we are in an "epoch" (laughter); and that, if we ever mean to say it, now is the time. I will not detain the Senate further, except to ask that, when the question shall be taken upon my amendment, we may have the yeas and nays upon it.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1853.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Wednesday, January 26, 1853, and, by adjournment, on the Thursday and Friday following.

At 12 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the Society was called to order by Francis Jackson, the President.

Voted, To proceed to the usual organization of the Annual Meeting.

Voted, That Samuel May, Jr., of Boston, Joshua Perry, of Hanson, and Mrs. Dora M. Taft, of Framingham, be a Committee to nominate to this meeting the usual Committees on Business, on Finance, and on the Officers of the Society for the year ensuing, and also Assistant Secretaries of the Annual Meeting.

This Committee subsequently reported as follows:

For Business Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Abby Kelley Foster, Sallie Holley, Daniel Foster, Andrew T. Foss.

For Finance Committee—James N. Buffum, of Lynn; Lewis Ford, of Abington; Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton; Nathaniel B. Spooner, of Plymouth; and William C. Nell, of Boston. [N. B.—Mr. Spooner not being present, Elbridge Sprague, of Abington, was afterwards appointed on this Committee.]

For Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., of Boston, and Joseph J. Locke, of Haverhill.

This Report was accepted, and the individuals named were accordingly elected; and the Committee had leave to report, at a future meeting, a Committee on the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The President then stated that opportunity would now be had for prayer, either silent or audible. Prayer was offered by John Rand, of Milton.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his Annual Report, which had been duly examined by the Auditor, Edmund Jackson, and certified to be correct. The Report showed the entire receipts of 1852 to be $6,618 64; expenditures, $6,325 02; balance in the Treasury, January 1, 1853, $323 62.

The Treasurer's Report was unanimously accepted, and ordered to be published with the Annual Report and Proceedings.

EDMUND QUINCY, on behalf of the Board of Managers, then presented their Annual Report, the reading of a considerable part of which occupied the remainder of the morning session.

AFTERNOON.

The President in the chair.

The following letter from Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem (now temporarily at Brooklyn, N. Y.), to the Committee of Arrangements, was read by the Secretary.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 22, 1852.

S. MAY, JR.—*Dear Sir:* Obliged to be out of the neighbourhood of Boston, I shall be unable to attend the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society during the coming week; but it would be doing great injustice to myself to fail of responding most cordially to the invitation extended me by the Managers, to be with you on that occasion. I need not say that the Convention will have my thorough sympathy, and that if any word or act in my power can help to swell their blast of judgment against tyranny and time-serving, it shall not be wanting. I hold the *radical* protest to be the only right and sufficient one—the only protest which is just alike to the present and the future. What seems to the hardened ears and blinded eyes of the infatuated nation the very frenzy of fanaticism, is the afflatus of a prophecy beyond the chances of mistake; and the Abolitionists, above all others, are the men and women who can afford to suffer and to wait.

'Weak and failing as I may be,' said Martin Luther, 'small as may be the sound I can make this world hear, my voice rings in the ears of the angels, who shall take up the strain after us, and repeat the solemn call.' One, we know, who, standing less than Luther in the strength of human aid, when he lifted to his lips the warning trumpet of this reform, could plainly affirm that he 'meant to be heard, and that *posterity*, at least, would say that he was right.' Upon the predictions of senates and parties, the surprises of laws unallowed for and contemned are sprung of a sudden, and they will fall discomfited and dead. The Individual it is, standing *alone* and *free*, who speaks with that authority which the future is bound to approve.

Fast and firm in these latter times, stands the tribunal of Individual Manhood, of private inspiration. It annuls the unrighteous judgments; and its decisions can no more be permitted to fall unheard through the noise of the multitude, than its presence can be sneered off to the 'third heavens' from this earth which is the Lord's. This fortress in the conscience will pile its strong towers steadily upwards, even out of the public calamities that seem impending. The more desperate the condition of our national affairs, and the more hollow the watchman's cry of our apostate churches through the night, the more surely must that word be working, whose present purpose is not to form States and churches, but to draw us, *one by one*, out of the hopeless coil of the organizations, and make us living and true. Whatever must perish in the process, this is the ultimate gain which all loss *must* go to swell. The nation that undertakes to put the righteous under foot, and lift up the base and profligate to stand for heroes and saints, must go to destruction, as of old; for the spring winds and flowers of a fresh opportunity must stir above its desolation. But when, on the high road to this consummation, like the Atheist in the allegory, it strides across the straight way of the conscience, then is it that we come to our senses, and learn—what it is infinitely better for States and churches to teach by their downfall than hide by their strength—that man is greater than the Temple or the Law. It will take more than a Kossuth to convince us, in the face of the solemn lessons of history, that to be a *patriot* merely, is the holiest or the wisest of aims. And, it may be added, it will take more intellect than a thousand Websters can bring to the argument to prove *one single interest* humanity can have in our bowing our free shoulders to uphold the ark of a National Union—which is not lightened by the uplifted wings of cherubims, but would bear us down upon our faces under the dead weight of the heathen's calves of gold.

The strength of the Anti-Slavery movement—its identity with the purposes of all science, all philosophy, all art, all worship—lies in this: that its protest is in the name of the individual, his rights, his duties, his inspiration. These celestial forms of human thought and labour can only be initiated by a race of men and women who have learned that the liberty of masses and majorities is spurious, and that a legitimate community can be made out of those only who know how to stand for truth against the world.

It is thus that the advent of the better day is invested with a pathos which solemnizes our thoughts and deeds. The sorrow of the slave unseals our eyes. That knowledge of the might of conscience which the eloquence of pulpit, bar and forum was too listless and too faithless to inspire, starts into life at this dumb pleading of agony and despair. *The Dragon's teeth are sown in the track of the fugitive*, and they will yet make our soil alive with men and women, mailed in the panoply of God. Yours for the Slave,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

This letter was listened to with deep interest, and, on motion of S. May, Jr., seconded by E. Quincy, it was voted that it be printed with the Proceedings.

EDMUND QUINCY said that the letter just read explained the whole philosophy, unfolded the entire mystery of the Anti-Slavery movement. It shows why we have met here, year after year, for twenty years, and continue to meet—why we have expended, as seems to many fruitlessly, so much valuable time, hazarded social position, and suffered, perhaps, in regard to worldly prosperity and success, as these are usually regarded. It is because we felt that the slave is a man, entitled before God to all the rights and privileges of a human being; and that any and all institutions based upon his enslavement are unjust, fraudulent, never to be tolerated, never to be allowed to rest in peace. And never was the Anti-Slavery cause more active and influential than now. Its hand has been manifest in every part of the National history for the past fifteen years. It was dread of its progress which led the slaveholders into Texan Annexation, and into war with Mexico for new territory, and to do all those other atrocious things for its own enlargement and strengthening which have stamped it before all the world as the villainy which it is, and which shall yet sink in the infamy and ruin it deserves. The birth and growth of the Free Soil party are to be traced to the Anti-Slavery agitation, and it is only through the moral agitation thus kept up that that party can hope to continue and increase. Twenty years ago, who thought of questioning the Christianity of the American Church? Now, we find everywhere a body of men and women who have left these churches, and left them for their sins and their falseness to God and man. Did *we* make the Deweys and Sharps, the Barretts, the Coxes, the Spencers, the Lords, the Springs? No, verily. But we brought about a state of things which made their development and exposure inevitable, and compelled them to bring to the light the evil which was in them. And is this a worse state of things than existed before, when Slavery was safe and strong, and all parties, State and Church, quietly acquiesced in all its claims. No, Sir. When men bestir themselves, wage war, and strive to strengthen their position, it shows that they feel they are weak and in danger.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, continued the discussion, making some timely remarks upon the present aspects of the cause, as they might seem either hopeful or otherwise to any. [His remarks were phonographically reported, and will appear elsewhere.]

MRS. SARAH C. REDLON made a few remarks on the same subject.

SAMUEL MAY, JR, from the Committee of Arrangements, announced the hours of assembling at future sessions, and that the small admission fee of five cents would be taken at the door at the evening meetings.

AMOS WATROUS, of New London County, Conn., spoke some animated and cheering words to those present.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, of Worcester, said she had something to say, although she feared her voice would hardly be heard. She said that she had lately been endeavouring to raise, in Worcester, some funds for the Anti-Slavery Society, and she had been struck with the different tone in which people now spoke of the Anti-Slavery cause from that they used a few years ago. The cause is still criticised, but not as it was then. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has done a marked work, and I found, said she, that many could speak favourably of the Anti-Slavery cause now, though they could not, they said, yet co-operate with us. I asked a Doctor of Divinity, said Mrs. F., if it was not best to do the thing which the enemy most dreaded? He admitted it was. I asked if they did not dread *agitation* more than anything else, and why he was not himself on the Anti-Slavery platform, helping us to agitate this mighty question?

CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem, said the coloured people are in a position to form a pretty just and definite opinion as to the progress of the cause. He thought *their complexion* gave them a fair and true criterion of the public sentiment. And, said he, I may speak for the coloured people of New England, at least, when I say, *we feel encouraged.* We were encouraged by the Jerry rescue, at Syracuse; by the death of slaveholders at Christiana; and we are encouraged by the deaths of Calhoun, Clay and Webster; that trio of defenders of Slavery. All these things are helping forward the triumph of freedom.

The discussion was farther continued by Messrs. Titcomb, of Boston, and Ford, of Abington. Adjourned to the evening.

EVENING.

The Chair was taken by Andrew Robeson, of New Bedford, one of the Vice Presidents.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution:

1. Resolved, That whoever maintains the rightfulness of Slaveholding is a self-conceited hypocrite; for the law of Liberty, which God has stamped upon his soul, renders insupportable the thought of his own enslavement, and thereby convicts him of the foulest injustice in consenting to a similar debasement of any of the human race.

CHARLES L. REMOND advocated the resolution.

PARKER PILLSBURY, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

2. Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is more than a crusade, moral or political, against Slavery-extension, by purchase of territory or by seizing it in wars of conquest; it is more than a vindication of the right of speech, of the press, or of locomotion; it is more than a controversy about the constitutionality of Fugitive Slave Laws, or the writ of Habeas Corpus, or the right of Jury Trial for fugitive Slaves; it is an open, direct, exterminating and everlasting warfare against the doctrine that man ever, under any possible or conceivable circumstances, can be made the goods and chattels of his fellow man.

3. Resolved, That however much we may rejoice in the change in public sentiment, as it appears in the refusal on the part of the people to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, in so many places at the North, or to visit its penalties on those who resist it, even though they take the lives of the kidnappers, and as also appears in the refusal to nominate for the Presidency those who had been most active in securing its passage, and, as further appears in the occasional triumphs of the Free Soil party, still we must never forget that all these are but the results of our faithful and inflexible adherence to our original and fundamental principles, and that it is only by continuing thus faithful that we can hope to witness still greater results and the final emancipation of every slave.

These resolutions were defended by Mr. Pillsbury, with great ability. [Mr. Pillsbury's remarks will be published in full.]

The PRESIDENT reminded the audience that the Anti-Slavery platform is alike free to the friends and opponents of the cause.

S. S. FOSTER urged Free Soilers present, or any of the political supporters of Hon. Charles Sumner, to come forward, and let us see how this subject appears to the mind of a Free Soiler.

C. L. REMOND hoped that no special invitation to speak would be given to any present. He believed that, at this day, everybody knew that our platform was free, and that any candid and well-behaved person would be welcomed to it.

P. PILLSBURY again rose to say that, in making his remarks upon Senator Sumner, it was no part of his intention to draw Free Soilers into a discussion, though he should be well pleased if that effect were produced. But in his progress through different parts of New England, the past three months, he had witnessed a great declining of Anti-Slavery interest, even among the Anti-Slavery people; and he knew not to what cause to ascribe it, if not the influence of Mr. Sumner's speech, and others like it, and to the quiet acquiescence of the Free Soil men in the overcautious policy of their leaders.

S. S. FOSTER commented on the course of some of the Free Soil politicians. How few of them have done as Joshua R. Giddings has done, who has gone over his district, from town to town, the moment he was released from Congress, and spread the whole subject before the people. Not so with Sumner, Mann and others. Charles Allen was sent to Congress from Worcester County, by a great majority. He did but little there, and the people's interest cooled, and at the next term he failed of a re-election. And it was not until he had come forward, and publicly withstood Daniel Webster's pro-slavery course, that the public interest revived and elected him for a second term.

A. W. DRAKE made some incoherent remarks in defence of Daniel Webster and in denunciation of the Abolitionists.

LYSANDER SPOONER defended Mr. Allen, of Worcester, from Mr Foster's remarks; and ascribed his long silence at Washington to ill health.

Mr. FOSTER replied that he had not spoken of the reasons for Mr. Allen's silence, but only of the fact. So, he said, Horace Mann might have been elected Governor of the State, if he had conferred more freely with the people.

A stranger inquired if S. S. Foster had lifted a finger to help Mr. Mann to be Governor.

Mr. FOSTER said he could reply most triumphantly to the gentleman's question; and he would say that he had done ten times more to help Mr. Mann's election than the gentleman making this inquiry had done, provided he is a member of the Free Soil party. Is it not a fact, inquired Mr. Foster, that where the uncompromising Anti-Slavery lecturers have worked most thoroughly, there the Free Soil party has reaped its richest harvest? Every one knows it is so.

Adjourned to Thursday morning.

THURSDAY—MORNING.

Met according to adjournment, at the Melodeon. Francis Jackson in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

MR. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

4. Resolved, That the declaration "Slavery is Sectional and Freedom National," is, first, in direct opposition to the historical and actual facts of the case; and, secondly, a distinction equally absurd and impracticable.

5. Resolved, That with three millions and a half of slaves crouching beneath the American flag, to whom no protection is given either by the laws of the land or by local statutes; who can make no appeal to the United States Constitution for any right or privilege whatsoever, but are doomed by its guaranties to be reckoned as three-fifths of human beings to augment the political power of their tyrannical owners, to be hunted like wild beasts through all the land if they shall seek to regain their freedom by flight; and to be massacred whenever they shall attempt to break their chains by revolt; whose numbers may be increased indefinitely, subject to no limitations by Congress, and whose posterity is fated to run the same horrible career of chattel servitude; to talk of Slavery as Sectional and Freedom as National, is to outrage common sense and to give an opiate to the consciences of a people "laden with iniquity."

6. Resolved, That with more than one-half of our national territory cultivated by slave labour; with fifteen States of the Union directly interested in the breeding, buying, selling, and working of slaves; with the right conceded to any and every one of the States, at its own sovereign pleasure, to introduce and perpetuate Slavery within its own limits; with nine slaveholding States already added to the original number; with the slave power exercising absolute sway over the manners and morals, the religion and politics of the country, to affirm that Slavery is Sectional and Freedom National, is a terrible satire upon the very name of republicanism.

7. Resolved, That the exact and sober truth is, that Slavery is National and Freedom nowhere; that no man in this country can exercise freedom of speech and of the press, irrespective of geographical distinctions, any more than in Austria or Russia; that we are all living under a bloody and exterminating despotism; that we have no common country for freemen, excepting for those who forge the chain and wield the lash, and that as great a revolution is needed here, to secure individual liberty, as in tyrant-ridden Europe.

8. Resolved, That as there are no elements in the universe more antagonistical to each other than Liberty and Slavery, it is as plain a proposition as can be submitted to the human understanding, that either Liberty or Slavery must rule the land; that they cannot co-exist on the same soil among the same people, and under the same government; that freemen and slaveholders cannot legislate together, nor enter into "solemn league and covenant" with each other—therefore,

9. Resolved, That the American Union, authorizing, as it does, the traffic in human flesh to an enormous extent, and making the slave system its peculiar, distinctive, and all-controlling institution, is an experiment of madmen to make fire and gunpowder coalesce—is simply a deceptive term for THE SLAVE POWER, everywhere making Justice, Humanity, Religion, subservient to its fiendish designs—and, consequently, is not to be preserved, but to be execrated and assailed, in the name of a Great God, of Christ the Redeemer, and of Man the sufferer, until not one stone of it is left upon another, and until upon its ruins is erected a glorious Temple of Freedom for all, without regard to complexion, clime or race.

10. Resolved, That while, on the ground of principle, we are compelled to take the ground of Disunionists, we, at the same time, claim to be the only true and only consistent friends of Law and Order, of Government and Union, in the absolute signification of those terms; and maintain that they are the disorganizers and anarchists of the day who are for perpetuating their "covenant with death and their agreement with hell," miscalled the American Union—the heaven-wide and everlasting distinction between them and ourselves being this—that while they are for preserving a government which outlaws and enslaves every sixth person under it, and nourishes a system which admits of no arraignment or examination, except under the penalties of Lynch Law, we are for a government which shall render the monstrous crime of slaveholding an impossible act, and enable every man to sit under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make him afraid.

P. PILLSBURY spoke in support of these resolutions. In the course of his remarks, he related several cases with which he had become acquainted during the past eight or ten months, in Ohio, Michigan and New England, of men of all parties, Whigs and Democrats, as well as others, who abhorred the Fugitive Slave Law, and refused all solicitations and even bribes to give it their active support.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., introduced the following:

Resolved, That the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause here present be, and they hereby are, requested to contribute each the sum of One Dollar (or each other sum as they may feel able) towards the expenses of this Annual Meeting, and the further aid of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Finance Committee proceeded to the discharge of their office.

MR. GARRISON read from recent Southern journals, incidents in slaveholding life, illustrating the outrages suffered by the victims of Slavery. These terrible and disgraceful facts came to us on the authority of papers published in the Slaveholding States. He also mentioned the case of the man who had endeavoured to procure the freedom of the wife and three children of Peter Still, who was seized by some ruffians, part of them belonging to a Northern State, and, having first been handcuffed, and his feet securely tied, was thrown into the bed of the Ohio river! Mr. G. also read, from a Cincinnati letter, an account of the attempted escape of a young woman into Canada, which resulted more fortunately. He also referred to the late Anti-Slavery meeting in Belfast, Ireland, and read a portion of an address to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, written by Rev. Dr. Edgar, and adopted by said meeting.

MRS. REDLON thought that God had smitten Moses Stuart and Daniel Webster for their pro-slavery sins, and would do likewise, in his unerring Providence, to all who yielded themselves up the apologists and defenders of Slavery.

MR. GARRISON, from the Business Commitee, reported the following resolutions:

11. Resolved, That ever since Slavery has been in our guilty land, its heart-broken and fettered victims have been making their mute appeals to the American Church for succour and deliverance; but, instead of coming up to their rescue in the name of the Lord God and his anointed Son, it has perseveringly and impiously consented to their enslavement, entered into the purchase and ownership of their bodies and souls, and boldly justified this high-handed villainy from the Scriptures as divinely authorized.

12. Resolved, That for more than a score of years the American Church has scornfully and maliciously resisted all the admonitions, and warnings, and appeals, of the friends and advocates of the enslaved; closed its doors against them, while opening them to the apologists and defenders of Slavery as a Bible Institution; and actively exerted all her powers to crush all sympathy for those who are drawn unto death, ready to be slain: therefore,

13. Resolved, That thoroughly steeped in blood and pollution as that Church is, it becomes us to turn from it with loathing and abhorrence—to waste no time in attempts to bring it to repentance—but to call upon all the friends of God and man, irrespective of religious professions, to rally for the utter and eternal overthrow of American Slavery.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, of Manchester, N. H., gave his hearty support to the resolutions just read. He recounted his experience as a Baptist minister for twenty years past, and his endeavour to induce the various Baptist bodies to take an Anti-Slavery position. He said that the hope he had long entertained, that the churches would take up and carry on the Anti-Slavery work, had now entirely died within him, and was gone forever. He made a very thrilling speech, of which we shall give a brief sketch in another place.

JOHN C. CLUER, of Scotland, alluded to the pro-slavery outcry in this country against all those persons in Great Britain and Ireland, who speak for the American slave. He (Mr. C.) could testify that the persons in England, &c., who espouse the Anti-Slavery Cause, are the very ones who are both speaking and acting effectually for the poor, ignorant, and oppressed classes at home. And every *pro-slavery press* in England, and all those who excuse and defend the American slave system, are *Tory* in their politics and nature, and engaged in keeping down the industrial classes of every description [hear, hear].

See, too (said Mr. C), how the pro-slavery men of Boston are bowing and crying to Thomas F. Meagher! The very men who seized Thomas Sims and sent him into Georgia Slavery, now join to feast and compliment the patriot Meagher, and tell of their love of liberty, and their sympathy with oppressed and struggling Ireland. But let T. F. Meagher come into this meeting, *and make one Anti-Slavery speech*, and he has had the last *reception* and the last compliments that he will ever have from these men. Mr. Cluer said he could testify with regard to Dr. Edgar, of Belfast, and others, whom Mr. Garrison had quoted, that they are and long have been the open, prominent friends of every effort to elevate and benefit the needy and suffering around them.

AFTERNOON.

F. JACKSON, President, in the Chair.

The three resolutions relating to the Church were read.

Elder HIRAM HUTCHINS, of Charlestown, of the Baptist denomination, said he put himself in the place of a slave, who felt his degradation and wrongs, who should go the Church's door and pray for their sympathy and help, and be sent empty away. In such a case, said Mr. H., I should say, as I must say, *they are not of Christ*; this would be a matter of consciousness, which their very position would demonstrate to me. Now this is the very position of the great majority of the American churches. He next spoke of the various Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, and said they all forget, neglect, and help to oppress the slave; they ignore the great foundation principle of *human brotherhood*, and, being without that great and vital principle of genuine religion, how can they be the representatives of God, as they pretend and claim to be?

W. L. GARRISON asked, Who are meant by the American Church? We have no one body organized and known as such. We mean these numerous sects—some of them very large and powerful—which are styled Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopalian, &c., &c. The editor of the (Methodist) *Christian Advocate*, Rev. Dr. Bond, when giving an account of the Methodist Conference in Boston last May—that very Conference which went in a body to Faneuil Hall, to be addressed and complimented by that great, bad man, Daniel Webster!—said that the harmony of the Conference was only once disturbed (alluding to the introduction of the question of Slavery), and then the good sense and Christian forbearance of the brethren immediately arrested the *unprofitable discussion* (!) and restored good feeling. All this was said to please and quiet the South.

A Bible distributor recently asked a group of coloured men in New Orleans if they did not want a Bible? These men were slaves—property. Their proprietor saw the act, and caused the Bible-agent to be arrested and brought to trial. Before the Court it was declared by those who employed the agent, that it was a *mistake* and never intended on their part. The agent was released, upon assurance being given that the same should not occur again.

In connection with this fact, Mr. Garrison commented on the case of the Madiai family, imprisoned in Florence for having a Protestant Bible in their possession; and particularly the outcry raised in New York, and other parts of this country, against the Papal government for its persecution of this family, and the demand made upon our Government to interfere for their relief. He contrasted the excitement in this case—the indignation of the Rev. Dr. Bethune, Dr. Cox and others—with the perfect indifference with which the New Orleans Bible case was received everywhere. Whatever the Pope may be doing in Italy, it is certain that the Church in this country is refusing the Bible to more than three million slaves in it—to a sixth part of its population—and taking from them the ability to read it, if they had it.

It is against such a church, the church which does these things, that we array ourselves. Call it by what name you please, it *is* an oppressive, cruel, and hypocritical church, which is the foe of God and man, and which must inevitably be overthrown.

Rev. A. F. FOSS said that, some years since, when the American Bible Society voted to place the Bible, within five years, in every family in the land, the American and Foreign Bible Society (which is the Baptist Society), not to be behind in so good a work, voted to do its part to the same end. Rev. Abel Brown, in that meeting, inquired whether the slaves at the South were contemplated in this arrangement. The moment the inquiry was made, shouts of '*Order! order! order!*' came from every part of the house. Rev. Dr. Cone, the presiding officer, rose greatly excited, and in a great voice said, 'Sit down, Mr. Brown! you are out of order!' And Mr. Brown sat down. The meeting before was greatly moved, much sobbing and crying; but every tear was drowned when Mr. Brown asked his impertinent and troublesome (?) question, and great indignation was expressed in every direction.

Mr. INNIS, of Salem, introduced a man to the meeting, who represented himself as a fugitive slave, and desired to obtain money for the purchase of his children.

Mrs. FOSTER protested against taking the money of the Abolitionists to buy slaves; they have a higher work to do, in which few will aid them. The Anti-Slavery agitation, she said, has created a very extensive outside feeling, which is occasionally disposed to contribute to the purchase of individuals, though it will do nothing against the slave system. If the friend just referred to will come to Worcester, or if that other friend of whom Mr. Garrison told us this morning, who has a wife and three children in Alabama, will come, I will put him in a way to get one hundred dollars, I doubt not, from persons in that city, who do little or nothing to sustain the Anti-Slavery agitation.

PARKER PILLSBURY protested against bringing the slave trade, foreign or domestic, into this meeting. Adjourned.

EVENING.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, one of the Vice Presidents, called to order.

JOHN A. INNIS again brought up the slave case, spoken of just prior to the afternoon adjournment.

SAMUEL MAY JR., and Stephen S. Foster spoke as to the rightfulness and expediency of contributing money for the purchase of slaves.

WENDELL PHILLIPS came forward, and was received with loud cheering. He presented, from the Business Committee, the following resolutions:

14. Resolved, That the object of this Society is now, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen, by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety and interest of all concerned demand its immediate abolition without expatriation.

15. Resolved, That, since the evil men do lives after them, and because dread of the verdict that history will record against them is one of the strongest holds we have on unscrupulous leaders, it is the imperative duty of all good men to put aside the fear of man and all false delicacy, and utter frankly their deliberate and grave disapprobation, even over the graves of those who have misused high station and prostituted high talents to the injury of mankind; that this is a duty which men in the position of the Abolitionists most especially owe to historic truth, to justice, to humanity, and the slave; and their well-known fidelity to it is one source of the power they wield, as well as of the odium which they incur.

16. Resolved, That in the death of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, we hail the removal of three great obstacles to freedom of thought and the Anti-Slavery Cause; and men being no longer chilled by the shadow of their baleful names, we may reasonably hope for humaner counsels in the nation, and a more patient hearing, at least, for better men.

17. Resolved, That, in our opinion, their constant and systematic sacrifice, life-long and on all occasions, of justice and humanity, the plainest principles of law, the most vital provisions of our national Constitution, and the welfare of three million of human beings to their own selfish ambition and the demands of the Slave Power; their scoffs at the sacredness of individual conscience and God's law; their bitter sneers or bitter opposition at every effort to rouse this nation to mercy and justice, made their influence and lives a curse to the country, and marked them the foes not only of the slave, but of this experiment of self-government and of republican liberty and human progress the world over.

18. Resolved, That we do not look upon Mr. Webster's speech of the 7th March, 1850, as the fall of a man before that loved and trusted; but, on the contrary, we know no hour of his life when the Abolitionists placed the least confidence in him, and no Anti-Slavery word he ever uttered which we did not feel, at the time, to be mere empty rhetoric or a clumsy attempt to make gain out of the generous impulses of better men than himself.

Mr. Phillips spoke during the remainder of the evening session, principally to the 14th resolution. [This speech was phonographically reported, and will be given in a future paper. It was a very able and eloquent vindication of the course of the 'Garrisonian Abolitionists,' and a masterly exposition of the philosophy of reform.] Adjourned.

FRIDAY—MORNING.

Met again in the Melodeon, FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the committee on the organization of the annual meeting, reported the following as a committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Joshua Perry, of Hanson; Ezekiel Thatcher, of Barnstable; William Whiting, of Concord; Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem; Paulina J. Gerry, of Stoneham; E. D. Draper, of Milford; Stillman Smith, of Norton.

Mr. GARRISON, from Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

19. Resolved, That, in behalf of the millions enslaved on our soil, this Society gratefully acknowledges the aid rendered to their cause by their transatlantic friends in public meetings assembled in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and many other places, and, by various addresses from large bodies of philanthropic men and women in the Old World, appealing to all Christians in the United States, in the name of a common Christianity, to wash their hands of all participation in the awful crime of slaveholding.

20. Resolved, That, as an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this Society gratefully proffers its heartfelt acknowledgments to the philanthropic friends of the slave in England, Scotland and Ireland, whose beautiful and munificent contributions to the late National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, in Boston, added so much to its value, elegance and productiveness, as well as to all those in this country who co-operated in the same beneficent work for the same glorious end.

21. Resolved, That we hail the appearance of a new periodical in England, entitled *The Anti-Slavery Advocate*, designed, as it is, to disseminate accurate intelligence of the Slave System in America, and to lay before the people of that country accurate reports of the aims, purposes and labours of the American Anti-Slavery Society, especially in view of the shameful fact that, for the last twelve years, the very existence of that Society has been ignored in *The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or, if ever alluded to, then only for the purpose of giving it a deadly sectarian stab, as unworthy of the confidence and support of a religious people!

22. Resolved, That our acknowledgments and warmest thanks are due to THE BRISTOL AND CLIFTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for the thorough and masterly exposure, made in their recent Report, of the narrow policy and sectarian spirit of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as exhibited in the almost total suppression, in their publications, of all information relating to THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and its operations—in constant but secret aspersion of the members and friends of that Society, at home and abroad—and in underhanded efforts to disparage and injure, in the estimate of the British public, even those fugitive slaves whom necessity and danger have driven to British soil, and who have there dared to express their gratitude and friendship to any of those men and women connected with THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY who have protected them and aided them in their perilous flight.

These resolutions were advocated by JAMES LOW, of England, in an earnest speech, highly creditable to the mind and heart of the youthful speaker.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH showed that, under our present Constitution and form of government, we are inextricably linked to the support of Slavery. Mr. Burleigh's argument was very close and able. [It is hoped that he will write it out for publication].

The following resolutions were reported, from the Business Committee, by Mr. Garrison:

23. Resolved, That in regard to the Colonisation enterprise we make no issue on any of the following points—whether Africa ought not to be reclaimed from barbarism and idolatry; nor whether black missionaries are not better adapted to its climate than white ones; nor whether it is wrong to assist voluntary emigration to the shores of that continent; nor whether the Slave Trade has not been crippled or driven from their localities by the colonies already established; nor whether the settlement at Liberia has not attained, in the same period, as high a position as did the Plymouth or Jamestown colony; nor whether the condition of the free coloured people in this land is not one of great hardship, and surrounded by many afflicting circumstances; nor whether, to those who are held in bondage, exile with penniless freedom is not preferable to a life of chattelized servitude; but it is, what are the doctrines, designs and measures of The American Colonisation Society, and is it worthy of the countenance and support of a civilized and Christian people?

24. Resolved, That we abhor and repudiate The Colonisation Society for the following among other reasons: (1) Because it sanctions the infernal doctrine, that man can rightfully hold property in his fellow-man. (2) Because it is managed and controlled by slaveholders, whose aim it is to give quietude, security and value to the slave system by the removal of the free blacks. (3) Because it declares the leprous spirit of complexional prejudice is natural, and not to be removed even by the operations of the Holy Ghost upon the heart. (4) Because it is the bitter, malignant and active enemy of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. (5) Because it stimulates and sanctions the enactment of soul-crushing laws and proscriptive edicts against our free coloured population, under the pressure of which they shall find it impossible to stand erect on this their native soil, and may, therefore, be induced to emigrate to Africa. (6) Because the motives it avows, the sentiments it inculcates, the means it uses, the measures it sanctions, are base, cruel, demoniacal—and (7) Because, from its institution to the present time, the objects of its professed commiseration have unceasingly borne the strongest testimony against it as uncalled for, hateful, persecuting and unnatural.

Mr. GARRISON said, it is not the coloured man, so long as he can be held *as a slave*, however ignorant and degraded he may be, whom the Colonisation Society wishes to send away. No! Slaveholders have no difficulty or prejudice on the score of complexion. When their slaves run away, they run after them, and take infinite pains to get them back; and we help them, and make Fugitive Laws for them. There is no insuperable prejudice of colour, under these circumstances, making it necessary to transport the coloured man to Africa. It is the educated, gentlemanly and Christian coloured man whom this country hates, will not tolerate, and seeks to banish from its soil.

Rev. A. T. FOSS said he had derived from Rev. Mr. Constantine, once a missionary at Liberia, some reliable information concerning that colony, as it was a few years ago. From that information he found that the colony had knowingly countenanced and aided the African Slave Trade (hear). This was formerly the case; if it be not so now, it is because the Anti-Slavery stir in this country has compelled them to be more cautious. If the traffic has ceased, it is not owing to any voluntary movement on the part of the Colonisation Society, but to the fact that the exposure of their wickedness compelled them to move.

Mr. GARRISON commented on Edward Everett's recent statement that neither the early colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth, at the end of twenty-five years, had attained so strong and favourable a position as Liberia had gained, in an equal time, among the family of nations. What a compliment this, said Mr. G., to the capacity of the coloured man! We have been used to regard our ancestors as picked men; but, by Mr. Everett's showing, it would seem these Liberia colonists are decidedly their superiors.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee, reported a list of officers, which was unanimously accepted.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., brought the case of Daniel Kaufman, of Pennsylvania, before the meeting. For allowing some fugitive slaves to pass a night in his barn, and giving them food, Mr. K. has been fined by the notorious Judge Grier, of the United States Supreme Court, and stripped of all his property.

Mr. GARRISON again brought forward the case of Peter Still.

AFTERNOON.

FRANCIS JACKSON, the President, in the Chair.

THOMAS HASKELL, of Gloucester, made some brief, but excellent, remarks.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, spoke on the influence the old-organized Societies have had in keeping alive the Anti-Slavery movement in the land—a movement without which the Free Soil party would have had no existence, and 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' would have had only tens of readers, where now it has tens of thousands. Mr. P. advocated the publication of a new series of cheap tracts for gratuitous distribution.

LEWIS FORD, of Abington, spoke with regard to contributions to the Society for their operations during the present year.

DANIEL FOSTER, of Cambridge, continued the subject, and presented many encouraging features of the Cause, which had occurred in his experience during the last eight months.

Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, spoke in favour of the most thorough agitation of the community on the subject of Slavery, and according to the principles and methods of this Society; while he declared himself to be a member of the Free Democratic party. [Mr. H.'s speech was phonographically reported, and will be published, probably, next week.]

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:

25. Resolved, That the recent act of a large majority of the U. S. Senate, proscribing Messrs. Hale, Sumner and Chase from all the Committees in that body, on the ground of their not belonging to any "healthy political organization"—meaning that they are not connected with either the Whig or Democratic party, and are opposed to the "Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law"—is unparalleled, for meanness and baseness, in the history of political legislation, as gross an insult as was ever offered to honourable men, an act of daring usurpation, and a precedent of a most alarming nature, which, if tamely submitted to, foreshadows, with other admonitory events of the times, the ultimate establishment of a military despotism over the whole country.

26. Resolved, That while the pro-slavery senility of one of the Senators from the Commonwealth made him shrink from registering a manly testimony against this dastardly and tyrannous act in the name of the sovereign State of Massachusetts, which he was sent to Congress faithfully to represent, we had a right to expect from the Anti-Slavery professions and positions of the other Senator, the Hon. Charles Sumner, who was one of the proscribed, something more than a dumb and an inglorious silence on that occasion, and yet no sound was heard from his lips, and Massachusetts was allowed to be spit upon with impunity.

27. Resolved, That the people of this Commonweath, without distinction of party, have a right to expect, on the part of their Legislature, now in session in this city, a prompt and stern protest against the virtual disfranchisement of Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. GARRISON said he had but little to add to the language of the resolutions. It was well known that the announcement had been formally made in the Senate of the United States, that the Free Soil members would hereafter be proscribed from all Committees in that body—though they were necessitated often to place one man on two, three, or even more committees, as the case might be; thus disfranchising, so far as in their power, the Senator from the Granite State, the Senator from Massachusetts, and the Senator from Ohio. This was done, too, by an overwhelming majority, the reason given being that these gentlemen did not belong to a healthy organization—meaning, of course, that they were not connected with the two great pro-slavery parties of the land. Hon. John P. Hale rose in his place, and gave utterance to his feelings at the time; but yet, although he treated the matter with his usual ability, there was lacking an expression of stern moral indignation, in behalf of the State he was there to represent. He rather treated it, as he was apt to treat every subject, in a humorous and witty manner, saying that he felt glad to be relieved from the duty; but that he supposed, by their not putting him on any one particular committee, that they meant he should have the general supervision of all—that he should be a Committee of the Whole. This was all very witty, but it seemed to him (Mr. Garrison) entirely out of place on such an occasion. He had no right to think of himself—of John P. Hale. He was there to represent a sovereign State, and had the same rights, and was entitled to the same privileges, as the Senator from any State of the American Union.

So far, Mr. Hale had found utterance; but Mr. Sumner had said nothing, from that time to the present; had not indicated, in any manner that is visible, the least dissatisfaction or the least alarm of mind in view of the outrage on that account. This overleaped all party distinctions. It was a subject in which he (Mr. Garrison), though standing outside of all party organizations, felt a deep interest as a man; and therefore, for one, he desired to register his testimony against that outrage, though standing, for conscience sake, outside of the Government. Mr. Sumner should have risen in his place, and solemnly protested against such a precedent. This invention might yet return to plague the inventors. Now, Whigs and Democrats were one in this proscription; but if it was good in this case, it would be good for whatever party is strongly predominant hereafter, against any other party that may be found in either house of Congress; and therefore it should excite common indignation as well as common alarm. It was by just such steps as these that despotism at last conquered a people. Step by step, and each step tamely submitted to, until the manhood of the people is gone, and then the usurper had only to spring into the seat of power, and, having his armed myrmidons about him, rule with a rod of iron over the whole country. It might be thought ridiculous by some to express any fear lest this nation should ultimately fall under the power of a military despotism; and yet, what might not happen to us? With such a system as that of Slavery in our midst—so huge, so volcanic, so destructive in all its elements, so demoralizing, so God-forsaking, so Heaven-daring—he believed before God, that if this nation continued in its present course, submitting to one act of oppression after another on the part of the Slave Power, which tries to exalt itself above all that is called God, the day was not far distant when even the form of a republican government would go down to the dust, as that of France had done, and we shall have our military despot, in some American Napoleon, to rule over us.

We had no manhood, as a people; we were a cowardly race. In one half the country there was no freedom of speech, no right of assembling peaceably together, no freedom of the press—we were all as dead men in the immediate presence of the Slave Power. This was well known, and yet we submitted to it all! 'To this complexion has it come at last.'

In thus alluding to Mr. Sumner, the speaker disclaimed all personal feeling. Mr. Sumner was his personal friend, and one on whose friendship he wished still to have a strong hold. The necessity of an allusion of this kind was painful to him; but, remembering his Anti-Slavery professions, and the position which he occupies in the name of the people of Massachusetts, he felt constrained to say that Mr. Sumner was bound, if on any occasion he could utter a word, to have risen in his place, and borne his protest—not for himself as a man, but in the name of the people of Massachusetts, and the State which he represented. But he was dumb, as the resolution said; he had never peeped or muttered on the subject. He (Mr. G.) had been astonished at the indifference of the Free Soil party in regard to this daring usurpation. If they were not prepared to stand by their Senators, and to vindicate the sovereignty of the State, it was time for somebody else to look after them, and, as Mr. Hale said, 'act as Committee of the Whole.'

In conclusion, Mr. Garrison said that he hoped the Legislature of Massachusetts would take the matter up without delay. It should not be left to a Free Democrat, but yet, if no other party came forward, the Free Democrat who did not test the Legislature on this subject, would be a traitor to his professions, and a traitor to the cause of liberty. But there should be Whigs and Democrats in that body to step magnanimously forward, and, overleaping all party distinctions, insist that no such insult should be cast upon Massachusetts with impunity by any body of usurpers in the Congress of the United States. He hoped to see it done, and to see such a protest as would make that usurping body cower before it.

S. S. FOSTER opposed the resolutions, so far as relates to censuring Mr. Sumner for his silence on the proscriptive course of the Senate. He would rather censure Mr. S.'s constituents for bearing it so silently and tamely. We do not know all Mr. Sumner's reasons for silence; and, besides, he rather doubted the propriety of Mr. S. making any protest whatever. If he (Mr. F.) should censure Mr. Sumner at all, it would be for being a member of the Senate.

Mr. GARRISON rejoined, that if the speech which his friend, Mr. Foster, had just made was not a severely satirical one—if it were really intended as a grave defence of Mr. Sumner's silence—then he must say, that, henceforth, whoever shall represent Stephen S. Foster as having no bowels of mercy, and being utterly destitute of charity, forbearance and long-suffering, will stand a self-convicted calumniator. But he totally differed in this view of the case from his friend, and must reiterate his conviction, that Mr. Sumner ought to have registered a strong and dignified protest against such high-handed Senatorial proscription.

Mr. PILLSBURY differed from S. S. Foster. He thought the apology, which his friend Foster had made for Senator Sumner, was equally good for the clergy of the country, in regard to their silence and apathy in the cause of the slave. In my judgment, said Mr. P., Senator Sumner should have called that tyrannous Senate to account for their insult to Massachusetts, and their dastardly proscription of himself and other Senators. But, culpable as Mr. S.'s silence may be, much more culpable are his constituents for their quiet submission to the insult heaped upon their Senator and their State.

Mr. INNIS said a few words in defence of Mr. Sumner. Adjourned.

EVENING.

Mr. GARRISON presented and read an excellent letter from Rev. S. S. Griswold, of Greenmanville, Ct.

The remainder of the evening session was mainly occupied by Rev. Theodore Parker, in a very eloquent speech, which was listened to by the large audience with the closest attention. [This speech was also phonographically reported, and will be printed.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS made a few impressive closing remarks, chiefly in reply to some observations of Mr. Parker.

The Resolutions before the meeting were then adopted by a full and unanimous vote.

The brothers Judson, John and Asa Hutchison then sang the 'Fugitive's Song.' It was received with great applause.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Pres.*

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Secretary*,
SAMUEL MAY, Jr., *Assistant Secretary*.

HAYTI AND THE UNITED STATES.—We published, not long since, the remarkable Diplomatic Correspondence, in relation to Hayti, sent to Congress by the President, wherein it was made manifest that the Monroe Doctrine in regard to European interference with the affairs of this Continent, like the Declaration of Independence, and the Preamble to the Constitution, is not understood to be applicable to the African race. It is good doctrine so far as Cuba is concerned, as the acting President set forth in his Annual Message, as Mr. Secretary Everett has since reiterated in a official letter, and as Mr. Cass argued in his speech, last week, on the affairs of that Island; for the United States wants Cuba as a perpetual stronghold for American Slavery, and could not, therefore, enter into a treaty with foreign powers to guaranty the title of Spain. But when France and England asked our Government to join with them in intervention in Hayti, that was a case not within the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, inasmuch as Soulouque is a black man, and his subjects are of all hues save the Constitutional colour of the United States. It is an unprecedented fact in Diplomatic History that a Government should, with such unblushing effrontery, proclaim its disregard of truth and honour; not that Governments have not, often enough, been regardless of every principle of right, and even every pretension of virtue; but it was reserved for this Republic to publicly abandon a doctrine which, almost in the same breath, they as publicly avow as the great safeguard of her institutions, and to be, at the same time, either ignorant of its self-stultification, or reckless of its shame.

We allude to this transaction again by way of introduction to the following letter, which the *Tribune* publishes as coming from a citizen of Hayti. It purports to be the secret instructions of Mr. Webster to Mr. Walsh, which, it will be seen, are more stringent than those which were suffered to appear as a part of the correspondence published by authority. How this letter fell into the hands of the writer does not appear, nor is it of much consequence. The *Tribune*, we presume, would not publish it unless convinced that it is genuine.

We need not, we presume, remind our readers that the question between the Haytians and Dominicans which the American Secretary of State steps in here to settle in favour of the latter is really one of nullification; the Dominicans saw fit to dissolve the Union with Hayti, and the interference of foreign powers in the quarrel is much the same thing as if England should make a separate treaty with South Carolina to support her against the Federal Government.

Mr. Webster's Letter of Instruction is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1851.

SIR: Although, in the letter of the Department of this date, you are directed to be governed in your proceedings in St Domingo by the views expressed in the instructions of Sir Henry L. Bulwer to Mr. Usher, yet, as the latter may conceive those instructions to warrant him in demanding from the Dominican Republic, in behalf of the Emperor Soulouque, concessions which, if yielded, would, it is believed, trench upon the just rights of that Republic, and would therefore render insecure any peace which may be established between the parties, it is deemed advisable to advert to those points, in order that you may endeavour to resist them so far as you can compatibly with the main object of your mission. It is probable that Soulouque may require an extension of his dominions, so as to include a part of the territory formerly belonging to the Spanish quarter of the island, but now embraced within the territory of the Dominican Republic. This pretension will, it is presumed, be set up on the ground that the population of the French part of the island is much more numerous than that of the Spanish part, and yet that the number of square miles embraced by the former is considerably less than that embraced by the latter. There might be some weight in this pretension if the differences between the areas of the territories of the parties, respectively, were greater than that which actually exists; if the boundaries between them were not naturally good; or if the population of Soulouque's dominions were inconveniently crowded, or were likely to become so within any appreciable time. As the reverse of all this, however, is believed to be the truth, you will object to an extension of Soulouque's territory. If, however, a treaty of peace should be concluded between the parties, the boundary should therein be defined so as, in future, to leave no cause of dispute between them respecting it.

If, also, the Emperor Soulouque should require from his adversary any concessions of a humiliating character, such as the hoisting of his flag at the City of St. Domingo, even temporarily, you will oppose it as being incompatible with the actual state of the contending parties, and as being certain to leave a rancorous feeling in the bosoms of the Dominicans dangerous to the perpetuity of peace. They have shown much gallantry in expelling the Haytians in 1844, and in repulsing the subsequent attempts to resubjugate them. From the information in possession of the Department, it is believed that they desire peace, not so much through any consciousness of inability to maintain their independence as from a wish to cultivate the arts of peace, and thereby develop the vast and almost virgin resources of their part of the island. The mode of warfare adopted by the Haytians, impelled, as they have on former occasions been, not by the lust of dominion only, but by their savage antipathy to a different race, is shocking to humanity, denounced by international law, and cannot claim any sympathy from civilized communities.

The Department understands that one of Soulouque's pretexts for bearing arms against the Dominicans is, that unless he can re-establish Haytian authority in their territory, he cannot, without the revenue which would then be collected in their ports, resume the payment of the Haytian debt to France. There is some cause to apprehend that this pretext has not been without influence in the French council adverse to the Dominicans. It is difficult, however, to understand why it should there have made any impression, especially when it is considered that the ordinance of Charles X. in 1825, by which the independence of Hayti is recognised upon the condition of their paying 150,000,000 francs to France, expressly confines that recognition to the French part of the Island.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
R. M. Walsh, Esq. DANIEL WEBSTER.

Upon this document the 'Native of Hayti' who sends it to the *Tribune* very properly remarks:

I have always understood that non-intervention was one of the dogmas of American policy inherited from Washington, and that President Fillmore was an especial disciple of that doctrine. How, then, does he justify such palpable and unprovoked meddling with the affairs of a distant island as is here exhibited. Ever since this nation gained its independence and bravely maintained it against the heaviest odds, the United States has treated us with scornful indifference, or jealous though generally disguised hostility. The reason is notorious. We belong to a branch of the human family which the American Democrat delights to trample on. But now at last this famous Democracy condescends to notice us, and to take the management of our business out of our hands. What right had Mr. Webster thus dogmatically to affirm that the people of the eastern part of the Island are entirely in the right, and we of the west all in the wrong? But I will not undertake to argue the question here. It is enough for the present to make public these instructions to Mr. Walsh—whose conduct while here was fully worthy of his mission—and to leave them to the comments of the free press of the United States.

CRUMBS OF COMFORT.—The slaveholders and the slaveholders' friends, one would think, from the avidity with which they seize and swallow every crumb of comfort that is tossed to them from no matter what quarter, consider themselves as almost abandoned of the world. A few ladies met together, the other day, in London, in the parlour of one of them, and, concluding that a kind word of remonstrance to the women of this country might have a good influence upon the condition of the slaves, thereupon proceeded gently and briefly to call attention to the fact that the marriage and the family relation is denied to three millions of Americans, and to ask those who can remedy this fearful state of things to do so. And thereupon the universal pro-slavery press of the United States goes clean daft with indignation and dismay, and pours out its unappeasable wrath upon the heads of this score of English women, whose hearts were melted with pity at the thought of the hundreds of thousands of wives who have no husbands, mothers whose children are not theirs, in terms which the worst of men hardly venture to use to the worst of women. And they comfort, and condole with, and bolster up each other in the increasing Anti-Slavery sentiment of the world, and accept from any quarter any little evidence that comes to light showing that there are still some good people left who hold to the doctrine of the connecting link.

The last solace of this sort that has reached them is a report, in the late English papers, of a meeting in Milan of some patriotic females who have undertaken to extinguish—in the usual way—the ladies of Stafford House, and have made Mr. Joseph Hume, M. P., their instrument in that work. We copy below the whole statement as it appeared in the *London News*, promising, however, that 'Catherine Howard' and 'Jane Gray' sound to us very apocryphal, and that we should not be much surprised if the whole thing should turn out a hoax, and that Mr. Hume had—to use an expressive saying of some of his countrymen—"made a judy of hisself."

We have received from Mr. Hume the following letter and resolutions agreed to at Milan on the 20th of December. The letter from Lombardy and the introductory remarks with which the veteran Reformer introduces the communications deserve the most careful attention:

"It must be pleasing to every friend of liberty, and to all well-wishers for the happiness of their fellow-creatures, to know that some ladies of the most exalted rank in this country have had the condition of the slave, and the state of Slavery in the United States of America, under their humane and considerate attention. But it may become a serious question whether the mode they have chosen for publishing their opinions and sentiments on these subjects to the Americans is the plan most likely to ameliorate the real sufferings of that class of our fellow creatures held in bondage in that land of liberty—where the fundamental law of the Union is, that "all men are equal in the eye of the law."

"It is not necessary now to enlarge further on the subject of Slavery, which we know to be one of great delicacy, giving rise to one of the most perplexing questions in the United States. For its abolition, the best and the wisest men have not as yet succeeded in devising any scheme, or for removing that stain which must become blacker and blacker the more that rapidly increasing country, and this her parent State, increase in intelligence and freedom.

"There are also plague-spots in this country that disfigure our population and disgrace our commonwealth, whether we compare them with slaves or look at our fellow-countrymen as entitled to the benefit, as freemen, of equal laws and equal rights. It is not asserted that to be poor and to be industrious is a reason why those who are so should be treated as culprits, and placed out of the pale of the constitution, and treated in a manner derogatory to their condition and character as free subjects of our gracious and Christian Queen.

"We have heard from the supporters of the Earl of Derby, in the late debates, that taxation and representation ought to be coextant,' and that such is 'the right of the people;' and Lord John Russell has given his high authority, both within and without the walls of Parliament, to that doctrine.

"We are 'poor frail mortals,' too prone to find out the mote in our neighbours eye while the beam is in our own; and it becomes us, therefore, in all humility, to examine the failings of the Americans, as regards Slavery, in a spirit of mutual regard and liberality.

"The resolutions agreed to at Milan, by the American ladies of Anglo-Saxon origin, are well worthy of the attention of the Duchess of Sutherland, and of all those, her noble coadjutors, whose sympathies have been enlisted and excited by reports of the sufferings of the slave in the United States of America.

"We should indeed be happy if misery and suffering could be removed from this and other lands; but we are assured on the best authority, that there will always be poor and suffering mortals, and that legislation can never entirely prevent poverty and wretchedness. But as Christians and considerate persons we ought to look at home—to what is passing hourly before our eyes, or within the sound of our carriage wheels—and, we may add, in almost every parish in our beloved country, and consider whether our legislation is just and equal.

"Let the Committee at Stafford House—at their next meeting, and before they send any more addresses to the ladies in America, on the sufferings of the slave in the United States—take the advice of the Anglo Saxon ladies at Milan, and 'look at home, and examine the condition of Christian freedom in the United Kingdom, and then employ their leisure, and use their amiable and powerful influence where it can be successfully exercised,' &c. Let the ladies of Stafford House act on the precept of our common Christianity—'To do unto others as they would that others should do to them.'"

At a meeting of American ladies, of Anglo-Saxon origin, held at Milan, Lombardy, on the 30th day of December, 1852, Mrs. Catherine Howard in the Chair, the following report was read and unanimously adopted:

1. The meeting views with feelings of interest the late doings of an assembly of ladies in London, under the auspices of her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland and her noble coadjutors, on the subject of African Slavery in the United States.

2. The meeting is deeply sensible of the evils of Slavery, and will use all just and honourable means to ameliorate and finally to abolish it, wherever, and under whatever form it may now exist. But unfortunately for the efforts of American ladies, and for humanity, the subject of Slavery in the United States, when honestly examined, is found, just at this time, to be surrounded with such appalling dangers, involving the happiness of their social circles—the fortunes and the lives of their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers—the very existence of the federal constitution and the union of the States—that it must not surprise the noble ladies of England that American ladies should recoil with affright from the mischief which any hasty zeal might occasion, or that they should deem it their present duty to remain submissive in the position allotted to them by the Almighty, until time and occasion shall render their agency useful.

3. The meeting respectfully tenders its thanks to the noble and honourable ladies assembled at Stafford-house for their appreciation of the value of liberty and the rights of man, and, under the present circumstances of African Slavery in the United States, would earnestly entreat them to look at home, and examine the condition of Christian freedom in the United Kingdom, and then employ their leisure, and use their amiable and powerful influence, where it can be successfully exercised—in gently removing those antiquated monopolies and time-worn restrictions which now so heavily press upon and impoverish their people. In correcting the errors and simony of their exclusive Church—in relieving the lands from burdens of a complex hierarchy—in individually adopting the liberal principles of the Christian Liturgy of the Church of America, and by such efforts, while they may gain for themselves a well-earned reputation, and an undying historic fame, they will be the means of extending the area of freedom, and insuring to all men equal rights and liberty of conscience.

All which is respectfully submitted.

CATHERINE HOWARD, in the Chair.

JANE GRAY, Secretary.

MILAN, LOMBARDY, Dec. 22, 1852.

DEAR SIR: A number of your female friends, under the advice of an English lady, have ventured to send you a copy of the document on the other side, the original of which has been forwarded to her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland, and to ask of you the favour to have it printed in such one of the public journals as you may select.

Very respectfully, JANE GRAY,
Secretary to a meeting of American ladies, held at Milan, Lombardy.
To Joseph Hume, Esq., M. P.

THE PARKER GIRLS.

THE story of the kidnapping of these girls was told in our columns at the time it occurred, but the following statements made by themselves will nevertheless be read with interest, especially as confuting the evidence which the counsel for the claimant said, at the trial, he *could* bring forward:

RACHEL PARKER'S NARRATIVE.

I was taken from Joseph C. Miller's about 12 o'clock on Tuesday, (Dec. 30, 1851), by two men who came up to the house by the *back* door. One came in and asked Mrs. Miller where Jesse McCreary lived, and then seized me by the arm, and pulled me out of the house. Mrs. Miller called to her husband, who was in the *front* porch, and he ran out and seized the man by the collar, and tried to stop him. The other, with an oath, then told him to take his hands off, and if he touched me he would kill him. He then told Miller that I belonged to Mr. Schoolfield, in Baltimore. They then hurried me to a wagon, where there was another large man, put me in, and drove off.

Mr. Miller ran across the field to head the wagon, and picked up a stake to run through the wheel, when one of the men pulled out a sword (I think it was a sword, I never saw one), and threatened to cut Mr. Miller's arm off. Mr. Pollock's wagon being in the way, and refusing to get out of the road, we turned off to the left. After we rode away, one of the men tore a hole in the back of the carriage, to look out to see if they were coming after us, and they said they wished they had given Miller and Pollock a blow.

We stopped at a tavern near the railroad, and I told the landlord (I think it was), that I was free. I also told several persons at the car office, and a very nice looking man at the car office was talking at the door, and he said he thought that they had better take me back again. One of the men did not come further than the tavern. I was taken to Baltimore, where we arrived about 7 o'clock the same evening, and I was taken to jail.

The next morning, a man with large, light coloured whiskers, took me away by myself and asked me if I was not Mr. Schoolfield's slave. I told him I was not; he said that I was, and if I did not say I was, he would "cowhide and salt me, and put me in a dungeon." I told him I was free, and that I would say nothing but the truth.

MARY E. PARKER'S NARRATIVE.

Narrative of Mary Elizabeth Parker, a free coloured girl, belonging to Chester County, Pa., as given by herself, in all the main features:

I was taken from Mathew Donnelly's on Saturday night (Dec. 6 or 13, 1851), was caught while out of doors, soon after I had cleared the supper table, about 7 o'clock, by two men, and put into a wagon. One of them got into the wagon with me, and rode to Elkton, Md., where I was kept until Sunday night at 12 o'clock, when I left there in the cars for Baltimore, and arrived there early on Monday morning.

At Elkton a man was brought in to see me, by one of the men, who said that I was not his father's slave. Afterward, when on the way to Baltimore, in the cars, a man told me that I must say I was Mr. Schoolfield's slave, or he would shoot me, and also threatened to whip me.

On Monday morning Mr. Schoolfield called at the jail, in Baltimore, to see me; and on Tuesday morning he brought his wife and several other ladies to see me. I told him I did not know them, and then Mr. C. took me out of the room, and told me who they were, and took me back again, so that I might appear to know them. On the next Monday I was shipped to New Orleans.

It took about a month to get to New Orleans. After I had been there about a week, Mr. C. sold me to Madame C., who keeps a large flower garden. She sends flowers to sell in the theatres, sells milk in market, &c. I went out to sell candy and flowers for her when I lived with her. One evening, when I was coming home from the theatre, a watchman took me up, and I told him I was not a slave. He put me in the calaboose, and next morning took me before a magistrate, who sent for Madame C., who told him she bought me. He then sent for Mr. C., and told him he must account for how he got me. Mr. C. said that my mother and all the family were free, except me. The magistrate told me to go back to Madame C., and he told Madame C. that she must not let me go out at night; and he told Mr. C. that he must prove how he came by me. The magistrate afterward called on Mrs. C., at her house, and had a long talk with her in the parlor. I do not know what he said, as they were by themselves. About a month afterward, I was sent back to Baltimore. I lived with Madame C. about six months.

There were six slaves came in the vessel with me to Baltimore, who belonged to Mr. D., and were returned because they were sickly.

A man called to see me at the jail after I came back to Baltimore, and told me that I must say I was Mr. Schoolfield's slave, and that if I did not do it, he would kill me the first time he got a chance. He said Rachel (her sister) said she came from Baltimore and was Mr. Schoolfield's slave. Afterward some gentlemen called on me (Judge Campbell and Judge Bell of Philadelphia, and William H. Norris, Esq., of Baltimore), and I told them I was Mr. Schoolfield's slave. They said they were my friends, and I must tell them the truth. I then told them who I was and all about it.

When I was in New Orleans Mr. C. whipped me because I said that I was free.

Elizabeth, by her own account above, was seized and taken from Pennsylvania, Dec. 6 or 13, 1851, which is confirmed by other testimony.

THE COLONISATION SOCIETY has elected for its officers the following year:

John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, President, and for Vice Presidents

Hon. Edward Everett, Massachusetts; Hon. Washington Hunt, New York; Hon. Horatio Seymour, New York; Hon. Joseph Wright, Indiana; Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, New Jersey; Hon. George F. Foot, New Jersey; Gen. John S Darcy, New Jersey; Hon. Ralph J Ingersoll, Connecticut; Benjamin Silliman, LL. D. Connecticut; Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, Pennsylvania; Hon. Edward Coles, Pennsylvania; Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., Pennsylvania; Rev J. P. Burdin, D. D., Pennsylvania; Edmund McGehee, Mississippi; Thomas Henderson, Esq., Mississippi; Daniel Turnbull, Esq., Louisiana; Hon. Thomas H. Seymour, Connecticut; Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, Ohio.

THE *Evening Post* publishes the following capital Epigram, communicated by a correspondent, on the will of a lately deceased Statesman:

As if some beggar, hurried by death's writ,
From the old corner where he used to sit
Should to his son bequeath the well known hat,
That still the pence might rattle into that,
And make, as Gessler would have done 'erewhile,
The passing crowd still vassals of his tile.

ANNUAL MEETING OF MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—Our readers will find the official report of the meeting last week in Boston, in another column. The more private and particular account of our Boston Correspondent we are compelled reluctantly to lay aside till next week. It is, however, good enough to keep.

LETTER FROM MICHIGAN.

There are those in this 'badger land' that mark with no common interest the advance of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society westward. For several of the last years has the hope been cherished that the succeeding year would bring in among us some apostle of reform, some of the advance guard among Liberty's embattled hosts, to thrust in the sickle and garner the ripening harvests. The good seed was scattered over these prairies and through these openings at an early day, by the dauntless and untiring *Edward Mathews*, whose sympathy with the slave, and rebuke of the slave power, caused his name to become a byword and a hiss among a time-serving ministry, and a popularity-loving church. The mask worn by these he tore off—the corruption hidden he exposed—and while the zenith rays of truth's clear sun penetrated with scorching heat the uncovered putrid mass, he called aloud and bade the people look with open eye, and know that sacerdotal robe, or party creed, or baptismal font, in heaven's impartial eye, in truth's revealing light, in progress' faithful chronicler, will but rank with priestly robes, broad phylacteries and pharisee prayers. No labourer in the western field has probably received a like amount of obloquy and reproach, because none have as unqualifiedly remembered "those in bonds as bound with them." His absence, while it has caused shout to succeed shout in the enemy's camp, has saddened the hearts of the struggling few, who feel that no pioneer labourer can yet be spared from this wide-extended field. It is nevertheless a matter of joy to those that in his labours on the other side of the water he shares the confidence and co-operation of your most faithful English coadjutors and correspondents—and that his influence is there felt in "undeceiving British Abolitionists as to the false charges brought against the American Anti Slavery Society."

The cause of truth and of right is one the world over. Its adherents and advocates are multiplying in every clime. Happy those who receive it in its power and proclaim it in its purity. That the American Anti-Slavery Society may send forth many more who have received of its holy anointings—that some one of its early apostles may wind their way hither, and bring forth from this valley of stirring bones upon whom the breath of life has been breathed, a little army of sons and daughters, symmetrically formed and properly clothed, who should give the trump of freedom that certain sound that shall gather the pure and the true into one united phalanx ready to strike hands with her sister States in battling down that bloody Moloch which the American government has enthroned with cries of "Live forever," and which the American church has crowned as "Lord of all," is the desire of one who claims the name— BADGER.

Miscellaneous News.

A NEW Free Soil paper has just been started at the capital of Wisconsin. They are springing up all round, remarks *The Elyria (Ohio) Independent Democrat.*

THE *Voice of the Fugitive*, published at Windsor, C. W., and owned and edited by H. Bibb and J. T. Holly, both fugitives from Slavery, made its appearance on the 7th instant, in an enlarged form.

The largest library in the United States is that of Harvard University, numbering in all about 92,000 volumes. Next to it ranks the Philadelphia Library, founded by Benjamin Franklin, and numbering 60,000 volumes.

THE *Wheeling* (*Va.*) *Intelligencer* regards the imprisonment of a free negro, for two years, who had enticed a slave girl to attempt to run away, as evidence that the North is determined to "protect the institution of Virginia."

SALE OF NEGROES.—We learn that at a sale at Chester, on the 11th instant, of 71 negroes, the average price obtained was $618. Among them were three old negroes, for which only $182 was given in the aggregate. A blacksmith sold for $1,730.—*Charleston* (*S. C.*) *Mercury.*

A NATIVE African called "Uncle Moore," resides in Wilmington, N. C., eighty three years of age—forty-five a slave. His time is chiefly occupied in reading the Scriptures in Arabic. He writes the language with remarkable accuracy and beauty of penmanship.

THE trading spirit, says the *Tarborough* (*N. C.*) *Southerner*, is fully up. A few days since, Mr. D. W. Bullock sold to Messrs. Norfleet, Robert Norneet and John S. Dancy, plantation and 18 negroes for $30,000. Mr. R. R. Bridgers to Wm. F. Dancy, 6 acres near town for $600. At a sale in Wilson, we also understand negro men, with no extra qualifications, sold as high as $1,225.

EXECUTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—L. A. J. Stubbs, of Marlboro district, who was convicted of the murder of his slave, at last October Court, was hanged at the Courthouse square, at Bennettsville, on the 7th instant, in accordance with the sentence of the Court.

John Townsend, of Prince George's County, Md., died some years since, emancipating 75 slaves, and bequeathing them all his real estate. In the Circuit Court of Anne Arundel County, on Saturday last, this will was set aside on the ground of insanity.

THE *Boston Herald* says that Mrs. H. B. Stowe received, last week, from her publishers, Messrs. Jewett & Co., of that city, the sum of $10,000, this being her second payment, as copy-right on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," making upwards of $20,000 received by her in nine months.

SALE OF NEGROES.—On New Year's Day there was quite a large number of Negroes sold and hired, at enormous prices. Two negro men belonging to Quinn's estate, sold for $1,176, and $1,200, and a negro woman and child $1,125. A negro man belonging to Slavin's estate, sold for over $1,300. Another negro man sold for $1,530. Bidders were numerous. —*Lancaster* (*Ky.*) *Banner.*

DANIEL WEBSTER, ROBERT RANTOUL and others, ascribe the authorship to Nathan Done, of Mass., of the ordinance of 1787. Mr. Edward Coles, of Philadelphia, conclusively shows that Thomas Jefferson was the author, Mr. Coles is an aged Virginian. He is a brother-in-law of Hon. Andrew Stevenson; was President Madison's Private Secretary; the first Governor of the State of Illinois, and a warm friend and correspondent of Jefferson, to whom his elder brother, Isaac Coles, was private Secretary.

THE *Greensboro'* (*Ala.*) *Beacon* has the following notice of the value of negroes in that section: "Negroes hired here on the first instant, at higher prices than they have commanded since 1837-8. Men brought from $150 to $180. A lot of over 40 composed of men, women, boys and children, averaged over $100 a piece. And what is most remarkable, these prices were paid by some of the most prudent and responsible men in the country. The *selling* prices of negroes are also very high—though not altogether as high, relatively, as the *hiring* prices. Men command from $1,000 to $1,200, and women and boys about in the same proportion.

PROGRESS OF THE AGE.—The following notice appears under the marriage head of the *Gardiner* (*Me.*) *Transcript*:

We, the undersigned, have pledged ourselves to each other for life, or as long as we can live in harmony, and now sustain the conjugal relations. This we do without conforming to the laws and customs of this nation in regard to marriage, believing it to be an affair exclusively our own, and that no others, whether of friends, Church or State, have aught to do or say in the matter.

We deem it necessary to give this notice that our friends and the public may know of our union, that we may not be exposed to slander.

BENJ. F. SHAW,
HARRIET N. HOWARD.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—The *Tribune* says, that the works at Reservoir Square are fast advancing to a state of completion. To an inexperienced eye the Square would appear nothing but a confused mass of iron rigging. This chaos, however, has method in its confusion, and very soon the outline of a very graceful structure will be seen to emerge from it. At one corner of the building the second story of pillars has been erected, and the huge derrick, by which they are elevated to their places, may be seen travelling along on a sort of iron railroad, supplied by the edges of the girders. A number of men are busily engaged in filling in the inequalities of the ground, and rendering it perfectly level. The entire work is making such rapid progress that there is little doubt of its being ready for the reception of the public by May.

THE Cherokees are really reaching a high pitch of civilization, refinement and chivalry. The "Act in regard to free Negroes" has been amended so as to read thus:

No Free Negro, except such as may be freed by citizens of the Nation, shall reside or hold property within the limits of the Cherokee Nation. And it is hereby made the duty of the Sheriffs, to notify all such as may be found within their respective Districts now or at any time hereafter, to leave the Nation within fifty days after said notice.

Be it further enacted, That all free negroes and slaves whatever, are hereby prohibited from carrying any weapon of any description declared to be unlawful, under the penalty of receiving thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, for every such offence, upon conviction before any Court having jurisdiction of the offence.

The Baton Rouge Vis-a-Vis, of the first of December states that an Artesian well, the first of the kind ever begun in Louisiana, was commenced in that place the previous week by a negro named George Menard. *The Vis-a-Vis* adds:

"This undertaking, whether successful or not, reflects much credit upon the undertaker, and evinces an indomitable energy of character worthy of imitation. A few years since Geo. Menard was a slave; by industry and fidelity he accumulated funds sufficient and purchased himself. A few months ago George Menard took it into his head that he would go to Alabama, learn something of Artesian wells, come home, dig, bore, or make one. He accordingly, at his own expense, went on, aided in boring three or four, and comes home confident of success; as an evidence of which, he now, at an immense cost to himself, commences the first Artesian well in Louisiana, relying upon the liberality of the people to reward him in the event of his accomplishing what seems to him so certain."

INTERESTING LEGAL DECISION—THE NEUTRALITY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.—Some of the gentry who are burning to extend the area of freedom by fillibustering against powers with whom we have treaties of amity and friendship, will be taken aback somewhat with the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in the case of certain American citizens against Col. Thomas J. Chambers, of Texas. While Texas was contending against Mexico, but before her independence had been acknowledged by our Government, the defendant, Chambers, desiring to carry on the revolutionary cause, sold large tracts of land to the plaintiffs—title to which he covenanted to make at any time when called upon by the purchasers. The purchase money was expended in equipping soldiers for the revolutionary army; and, after the establishment of Texan independence, defendant received the thanks of the Congress of the new Republic, and was reimbursed all the expense incurred by him during the war, in the public service, including the price of these lands. Subsequently he was called upon to make title to the lands sold to plaintiffs, which he refused. Suit was brought to compel him to the performance of his covenant, and he set up in defence the allegation that the contract was void, because in contravention of the neutrality laws of the United States. The Court sustained this defence, deciding the contract to be null and void, and those who advanced the money were liable to be punished in a criminal prosecution, for a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States.

The independence of Texas had not been acknowledged at the time of the contract. Texas, as far as the United States Government was concerned, was part of Mexico, a country with which we had treaties existing of amity and friendship. The conduct of those who lent the money was in direct opposition to the policy of the Government of the United States, which was exerting itself to maintain its neutral obligations. The Constitution of the United States places in the hands of the Government the policy which is to govern in its inter course with foreign nations. When the Government declares war against any nation, the citizen is bound to be at war with that nation, and he is equally bound to commit no act of hostility against a nation with which the Government is in amity and friendship. The Court says:

When the authority (the United States Government) has plighted its faith to another nation that there shall be peace and friendship between the citizens of the two countries, every citizen of the United States is equally and personally pledged. The compact is made by the Department of the Government upon which he himself has agreed to confer the power. It is his own personal compact as a portion of the sovereignty in whose behalf it is made. And he can do no act, nor enter into any agreement to promote or encourage revolt or hostilities against the territories of a country with which our Government is pledged by treaty to be at peace, without a breach of his duty as a citizen, and the breach of the faith pledged to the foreign nation; and if he does so, he cannot claim the aid of a court of justice to enforce it."

This principle is universally acknowledged by the law of nations, and it lies at the foundation of all government, as there could be no social order or peaceful relations between the citizens of different countries without it.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

Miscellaneous Department.

THE GREAT CRANFORD PANIC.

IN TWO CHAPTERS.—CHAPTER THE FIRST.

SOON after the events of which I gave an account in my last paper, I was summoned home by my father's illness; and for a time I forgot, in anxiety about him, to wonder how my dear friends at Cranford were getting on, or how Lady Glenmire could reconcile herself to the dulness of the long visit which she was still paying to her sister-in-law, Mrs. Jamieson. When my father grew a little stronger I accompanied him to the sea-side, so that altogether I seemed banished from Cranford, and was deprived of the opportunity of hearing any chance intelligence of the dear little town for the greater part of that year. Late in November—when we had returned home again, and my father was once more in good health—I received a letter from Miss Matey, and a very mysterious letter it was. She began many sentences without ending them, running them one into another, in much the same confused sort of way in which written words run together on blotting-paper. All I could make out was, that if my father was better (which she hoped he was), and would take warning and wear a great coat from Michaelmas to Lady-day, if turbans were in fashion, could I tell her? such a piece of gaiety was going to happen as had not been seen or known of since Wombwell's lions came, when one of them ate a little child's arm; and she was, perhaps, too old to care about dress, but a new cap she must have; and, having heard that turbans were worn, and some of the county families likely to come, she would like to look tidy, if I would bring her a cap from the milliner I employed; and oh, dear! how careless of her to forget that she wrote to beg I would come and pay her a visit next Tuesday; when she hoped to have something to offer me in the way of amusement, which she would not now more particularly describe, only sea-green was her favourite colour So she ended her letter; but in a P. S. she added, she thought she might as well tell me what was the peculiar attraction to Cranford just now; Signor Brunoni was going to exhibit his wonderful magic in the Cranford Assembly Rooms, on Wednesday and Friday evening in the following week.

I was very glad to accept the invitation from my dear Miss Matey, independently of the conjuror; and most particularly anxious to prevent her from disfiguring her small gentle mousey face with a great Saracen's head turban; and, accordingly, I bought her a pretty, neat, middle-aged cap, which, however, was rather a disappointment to her when, on my arrival, she followed me into my bed-room, ostensibly to poke the fire, but in reality, I do believe, to see if the sea-green turban was not inside the cap-box with which I had travelled. It was in vain that I twirled the cap round on my hand to exhibit back and side fronts; her heart had been set upon a turban, and all she could do was to say, with resignation in her look and voice:

"I am sure you did your best, my dear. It is just like the caps all the ladies in Cranford are wearing, and they have had theirs for a year, I day say. I should have liked something newer, I confess—something more like the turbans Miss Betty Barker tells me Queen Adelaide wears; but it is very pretty, my dear. And I dare say lavender will wear better than sea-green. Well, after all, what is dress that we should care about it! You'll tell me if you want anything, my dear. Here is the bell. I suppose turbans have not got down to Drumble yet?"

So saying, the dear old lady gently bemoaned herself out of the room, leaving me to dress for the evening, when, as she informed me, she expected Miss Pole and Mrs. Forrester, and she hoped I should not feel myself too much tired to join the party. Of course I should not; and I made some haste to unpack and arrange my dress; but, with all my speed, I heard the arrivals and the buzz of conversation in the next room before I was ready. Just as I opened the door, I caught the words—"I was foolish to expect anything very genteel out of the Drumble shops—poor girl! she did her best, I've no doubt." But for all that, I had rather that she blamed Drumble and me than disfigured herself with a turban. Miss Pole was always the person, in the trio of Cranford ladies now assembled, to have had adventures. She was in the habit of spending the morning in rambling from shop to shop; not to purchase anything (except an occasional reel of cotton, or a piece of tape), but to see the new articles and report upon them, and to collect all the stray pieces of intelligence in the town. She had a way, too, of demurely popping hither and thither into all sorts of places to gratify her curiosity on any point; a way which, if she had not looked so very genteel and prim, might have been considered impertinent. And now, by the expressive way in which she cleared her throat, and waited for all minor subjects (such as caps and turbans) to be cleared off the course, we knew she had something very particular to relate, when the due pause came—and I defy any people, possessed of common modesty, to keep up a conversation long, where one among them sits up aloft in silence, looking down upon all the things they chance to say as trivial and contemptible compared to what they could disclose, if properly entreated. Miss Pole began:

"As I was stepping out of Gordon's shop, to-day, I chanced to go into the George (my Betty has a second-cousin who is chambermaid there, and I thought Betty would like to hear how she was), and, not seeing any one about, I strolled up the staircase, and found myself in the passage leading to the Assembly Room (you and I remember the Assembly Room, I am sure, Miss Matey! and the *minuets de la cour!*); so I went on, not thinking of what I was about, when, all at once, I perceived that I was in the middle of the preparations for to-morrow night—room being divided with great clothes-maids, over which Crosby's men were tacking red flannel—very dark and odd it seemed; it quite bewildered me, and I was going on behind the screens, in my absence of mind, when a gentleman (quite the gentleman, I can assure you), stepped forwards and asked if I had any business he could arrange for me. He spoke such pretty broken English, I could not help thinking of Thaddeus of Warsaw and the Hungarian Brothers, and Santo Sebastiani; and while I was busy picturing his past life to myself, he had bowed me out of the room. But wait a minute! You have not heard half my story yet! I was going downstairs, when who should I meet but Betty's second cousin. So, of course, I stopped to speak to her for Betty's sake; and she told me that I had really seen the conjurer; the gentleman who spoke broken English was Signor Brunoni himself. Just at this moment he passed us on the stairs, making such a graceful bow, in reply to which I dropped a curtsey—all foreigners have such polite manners, one catches something of it. But when he had gone downstairs, I bethought me that I had dropped my glove in the Assembly Room (it was safe in my muff all the time, but I never found it till afterwards); so I went back, and, just as I was creeping up the passage left on one side of the great screen that goes nearly across the room, who should I see but the very same gentleman that had met me before, and passed me on the stairs, coming now forwards from the inner part of the room, to which there is no entrance—you remember, Miss Matey!—and just repeating, in his pretty broken English, the inquiry if I had any business there—I don't mean that he put it quite so bluntly, but he seemed very determined that I should not pass the screen—so, of course, I explained about my glove, which, curiously enough, I found at that very moment."

Miss Pole then had seen the conjurer—the real live conjuror! and numerous were the questions we all asked her: "Had he a beard? Was he young or old? Fair or dark? Did he look"—(unable to shape my question prudently, I put it in another form)—"How did he look?" In short, Miss Pole was the heroine of the evening, owing to her morning's encounter. If she was not the rose (that is to say the conjuror), she had been near it.

Conjuration, sleight of hand, magic, witchcraft were the subjects of the evening. Miss Pole was slightly sceptical, and inclined to think there might be a scientific solution found for even the proceedings of the Witch of Endor. Mrs. Forrester believed everything, from ghosts to death-watches. Miss Matey ranged between the two—always convinced by the last speaker. I think she was naturally more inclined to Mrs. Forrester's side, but a desire of proving herself a worthy sister to Miss Jenkyns kept her equally balanced—Miss Jenkyns, who would never allow a servant to call the little rolls of tallow that formed themselves round candles, "winding-sheets," but insisted on their being spoken of as "roly-poleys!" A sister of hers to be superstitious! It would never do.

After tea, I was despatched downstairs into the dining-parlour for that volume of the old encyclopædia which contained the nouns beginning with C, in order that Miss Pole might prime herself with scientific explanations for the tricks of the following evening. It spoilt the pool at Preference which Miss Matey and Mrs. Forrester had been looking forward to, for Miss Pole became so much absorbed in her subject, and the plates by which it was illustrated, that we felt it would be cruel to disturb her, otherwise than by one or two well-timed yawns, which I threw in now and then, for I was really touched by the meek way in which the two ladies were bearing their disappointment. But Miss Pole only read the more zealously, imparting to us no more interesting information than this:

"Ah! I see; I comprehend perfectly. A represents the ball. Put A between B and D—no! between C and F, and turn the second joint of the third finger of your left hand over the wrist of your right H. Very clear indeed! My dear Mrs. Forrester, conjuring and witchcraft is a mere affair of the alphabet. Do let me read you this one passage?"

Mrs. Forrester implored Miss Pole to spare her, saying, from a child upwards, she never could understand being read aloud to; and I dropped the pack of cards, which I had been shuffling very audibly; and by this discreet movement, I obliged Miss Pole to perceive that Preference was to have been the order of the evening, and to propose, rather unwillingly, that the pool should commence. The pleasant brightness that stole over the other two ladies' faces on this! Miss Matey had one or two twinges of self-reproach for having interrupted Miss Pole in her studies; and did not remember her cards well, or give her full attention to the game, until she had soothed her conscience by offering to lend the volume of the Encyclopædia to Miss Pole, who accepted it thankfully, and said Betty should take it home when she came with the lantern.

The next evening we were all in a little gentle flutter at the idea of the gaiety before us. Miss Matey went up to dress betimes, and hurried me until I was ready, when we found we had an hour and a half to wait before the "doors opened at seven, precisely" And we had only twenty yards to go! However, as Miss Matey said, it would not do to get too much absorbed in anything, and forget the time; so, she thought we had better sit quietly, without lighting the candles, till five minutes to seven. So Miss Matey dozed, and I knitted.

At length we set off; and at the door, under the carriage-way at the George, we met Mrs. Forrester and Miss Pole: the latter was discussing the subject of the evening with more vehemence than ever, and throwing As and Bs at our heads like hail-stones. She had even copied one or two of the "receipts"—as she called them—for the different tricks, on backs of letters, ready to explain and to detect Signor Brunoni's arts. We went into the cloak-room adjoining the Assembly Room; Miss Matey gave a sigh or two to her departed youth, and the remembrance of the last time she had been there, as she adjusted her pretty new cap before the strange, quaint old mirror in the cloak-room. The Assembly Room had been added to the inn about a hundred years before, by the different county families, who met together there once a month during the winter, to dance and play at cards. Many a county beauty had first swam through the minuet that she afterwards danced before Queen Charlotte, in this very room. It was said that one of the Gunnings had graced the apartment with her beauty; it was certain that a rich and beautiful widow, Lady Williams, had here been smitten with the noble figure of a young artist, who was staying with some family in the neighbourhood for professional purposes, and accompanied his patrons to the Cranford Assembly. And a pretty bargain poor Lady Williams had of her handsome husband, if all tales were true! Now, no beauty blushed and dimpled along the sides of the Cranford Assembly Room; no handsome artist won hearts by his bow, *chapeau bras* in hand: the old room was dingy; the salmon-coloured paint had faded into a drab; great pieces of plaster had chipped off from the white wreaths and festoons on its walls; but still a mouldy odour of aristocracy lingered about the place, and a dusty recollection of the days that were gone made Miss Matey and Mrs. Forrester bridle up as they entered, and walk mincingly up the room as if there were a number of genteel observers, instead of two little boys, with a stick of toffy between them with which to beguile the time.

We stopped short at the second front row; I could hardly understand why, until I heard Miss Pole ask a stray waiter if any of the County families were expected; and when he shook his head, and believed not, Mrs. Forrester and Miss Matey moved forwards, and our party represented a conversational square. The front row was soon augmented and enriched by Lady Glenmire and Mrs. Jamieson. We six occupied the two front rows, and our aristocratic seclusion was respected by the groups of shopkeepers who strayed in from time to time, and huddled together on the back benches. At least I conjectured so, from the noise they made, and the sonorous bumps they gave in sitting down; but when, in weariness of the obstinate green curtain, that would not draw up, but would stare at me with two odd eyes, seen through holes, as in the old tapestry story, I would fain have looked round at the merry chattering people behind me, Miss Pole clutched my arm, and begged me not to turn, for "it was not the thing." What "the thing" was I never could find out, but it must have been something eminently dull and tiresome. However, we all sat eyes right, square front, gazing at the tantalizing curtain, and hardly speaking intelligibly, we were so afraid of being caught in the vulgarity of making any noise in a place of public amusement. Mrs. Jamieson was the most fortunate, for she fell asleep. At length the eyes disappeared—the curtain quivered—one side went up before the other, which stuck fast; it was dropped again, and, with a fresh effort, and a vigorous pull from some unseen hand, it flew up, revealing to our sight a magnificent gentleman in the Turkish costume, seated before a little table, gazing at us (I should have said with the same eyes that I had last seen through the hole in the curtain) with calm and condescending dignity, "like a being of another sphere," as I heard a sentimental voice ejaculate behind me.

"That's not Signor Brunoni!" said Miss Pole decidedly, and so audibly that I am sure he heard, for he glanced down over his flowing beard at our party with an ear of mute reproach. "Signor Brunoni had no beard—but perhaps he'll come soon." So she lulled herself into patience. Meanwhile, Miss Matey had reconnoitred through her eye-glass; wiped it, and looked again. Then she turned round, and said to me, in a kind, mild, sorrowful tone:

"You see, my dear, turbans *are* worn."

But we had no time for more conversation. The Grand Turk, as Miss Pole chose to call him, arose and announced himself as Signor Brunoni.

"I don't believe him!" exclaimed Miss Pole, in a defiant manner. He looked at her again, with the same dignified upbraiding in his countenance. "I don't!" she repeated, more positively than ever. "Signor Brunoni had not got that muffy sort of thing about his chin, but looked like a close-shaved Christian gentleman."

Miss Pole's energetic speeches had the good effect of wakening up Mrs. Jamieson, who opened her eyes wide in sign of the deepest attention, a proceeding which silenced Miss Pole, and encouraged the Grand Turk to proceed, which he did in very broken English—so broken that there was no cohesion between the parts of his sentences; a fact which he himself perceived at last, and so left off speaking and proceeded to action.

Now we *were* astonished. How he did his tricks I could not imagine; no, not even when Miss Pole pulled out her pieces of paper and began reading aloud—or at least in a very audible whisper—the separate "receipts" for the most common of his tricks. If ever I saw a man frown, and look enraged I saw the Grand Turk frown at Miss Pole; but, as she said, what could be expected but unchristian looks from a Mussulman? If Miss Pole was sceptical, and more engrossed with her receipts and diagrams than with his tricks, Miss Matey and Mrs. Forrester were mystified and perplexed to the highest degree. Mrs. Jamieson kept taking her spectacles off and wiping them, as if she thought it was something defective in them which made the legerdemain; and Lady Glenmire, who had seen many curious sights in Edinburgh, was very much struck with the tricks, and would not at all agree with Miss Pole, who declared that anybody could do them with a little practice—and that she would, herself, undertake to do all he did, with two hours given to study the Encyclopædia, and make her third finger flexible.

At last, Miss Matey and Mrs. Forrester became perfectly awe-struck. They whispered together. I sat just behind them, so I could not help hearing what they were saying. Miss Matey asked Mrs. Forrester, "if she thought it was quite right to have come to see such things? She could not help fearing they were lending encouragement to something that was not quite——" a little shake of the head filled up the blank. Mrs. Forrester replied, that the same thought had crossed her mind; she, too, was feeling very uncomfortable; it was so very strange. She was quite certain that it was her pocket-handkerchief which was in that loaf just now; and it had been in her own hand not five minutes before. She wondered who had furnished the bread? She was sure it could not be Dabine because he was the churchwarden. Suddenly, Miss Matey half turned towards me:

"Will you look, my dear—you are a stranger in the town, and it won't give rise to unpleasant reports—will you just look round and see if the rector is here? If he is, I think we may conclude that this wonderful man is sanctioned by the Church, and that will be a great relief to my mind."

I looked, and I saw the tall, thin, dry, dusty rector sitting, surrounded by National School boys, guarded by troops of his own sex from any approach of the many Cranford spinters. His kind face was all agape with broad smiles, and the boys around him were in chinks of laughing. I told Miss Matey that the Church was smiling approval, which set her mind at ease. I have never named Mr. Hayter, the rector, because I, as a well-to-do and happy young woman, never came in contact with him. He was an old bachelor, but as afraid of matrimonial reports getting abroad about him as any girl of eighteen: and he would rush into a shop, or dive down an entry, sooner than encounter any of the Cranford ladies in the street; and, as for the Preference parties, I did not wonder at his not accepting invitations to them. To tell the truth, I always suspected Miss Pole of having given very vigorous chace to Mr. Hayter when he first came to Cranford; and not the less, because now she appeared to share so vividly in his dread lest her name should ever be coupled with his. He found all his interests among the poor and helpless; he had treated the National School boys this very night to the performance; and virtue was for once its own reward, for they guarded him right and left, and clung round him as if he had been the queen bee, and they the swarm. He felt so safe in their environment that he could even afford to give our party a bow as we filed out. Miss Pole ignored his presence, and pretended to be absorbed in convincing us that we had been cheated, and had not seen Signor Brunoni after all.

I think a series of circumstances dated from Signor Brunoni's visit to Cranford, which seemed at the time connected in our minds with him, though I don't know that he had anything really to do with them. All at once all sorts of uncomfortable rumours got afloat in the town. There were one or two robberies—real bona fide robberies; men had up before the magistrates and committed for trial; and that seemed to make us all afraid of being robbed; and for a long time at Miss Matey's, I know, we used to make a regular expedition all round the kitchens and cellars every night, Miss Matey leading the way, armed with the poker, I following with the hearth-brush, and Martha carrying the shovel and fire-irons with which to sound the alarm; and by the accidental hitting together of them she often frightened us so much that we bolted ourselves up, all three together, in the back kitchen, or store-room, or wherever we happened to be, till, when our affright was over, we recollected ourselves, and set out afresh with double valiance. By day we heard strange stories from the shopkeepers and cottagers, of carts that went about in the dead of night, drawn by horses shod with felt, and guarded by men in dark clothes, going round the town, no doubt, in search of some unwatched house or some unfastened door. Miss Pole, who affected great bravery herself, was the principal person to collect and arrange these reports, so as to make them assume their most fearful aspect. But we discovered that she had begged one of Mr. Hoggins' worn-out hats to hang up in her lobby, and we (at least I) had my doubts as to whether she really would enjoy the little adventure of having her house broken into, as she protested she should. Miss Matey made no secret of being an arrant coward; but she went regularly through her house-keeper's duty of inspection, only the hour for this became earlier and earlier, till at last we went the rounds at half-past six, and Miss Matey adjourned to bed soon after seven, "in order to get the night over the sooner."

Cranford had so long piqued itself on being an honest and moral town, that it had grown to fancy itself too genteel and well-bred to be otherwise, and felt the stain upon its character at this time doubly. But we comforted ourselves with the assurance which we gave to each other, that the robberies could never have been committed by any Cranford person; it must have been a stranger or strangers, who brought this disgrace upon the town, and occasioned as many precautions as if we were living among the Red Indians or the French. This last comparison of our nightly state of defence and fortification, was made by Mrs. Forrester, whose father had served under General Burgoyne in the American war, and whose husband had fought the French in Spain. She indeed inclined to the idea that, in some way, the French were connected with the small thefts, which were ascertained facts, and the burglaries and highway robberies, which were rumours. She had been deeply impressed with the idea of French spies, at some time in her life; and the notion could never be fairly eradicated, but sprung up again from time to time. And now her theory was this: the Cranford people respected themselves too much, and were too grateful to the aristocracy who were so kind as to live near the town, ever to disgrace their bringing up by being dishonest or immoral; therefore, we must believe that the robbers were strangers—if strangers, why not foreigners? if foreigners, who so likely as the French? Signor Brunoni spoke broken English like a Frenchman, and, though he wore a turban like a Turk, Mrs. Forrester had seen a print of Madame de Staël with a turban on, and another of Mr. Denon in just such a dress as that in which the conjurer had made his appearance; showing clearly that the French, as well as the Turks, wore turbans: there could be no doubt Signor Brunoni was a Frenchman—a French spy, come to discover the weak and undefended places of England; and, doubtless, he had his accomplices; for her part, she, Mrs. Forrester, had always had her own opinion of Miss Pole's adventure at the George Inn—seeing two men where only one was believed to be. French people had ways and means, which she was thankful to say the English knew nothing about; and she had never felt quite easy in her mind about going to see that conjurer; it was rather too much like a forbidden thing, though the rector was there. In short, Mrs. Forrester grew more excited than we had ever known her before; and, being an officer's daughter and widow, we looked up to her opinion, of course. Really I do not know how much was true or false in the reports which flew about like wildfire just at this time; but it seemed to me then that there was every reason to believe that at Mardon (a small town about eight miles from Cranford) houses and shops were entered by holes made in the walls, the bricks being silently carted away in the dead of the night, and all done so quietly, that no sound was heard either in or out of the house. Miss Matey gave it up in despair when she heard of this. "What was the use," said she, "of locks and bolts, and bells at the windows, and going round the house every night? That last trick was fit for a conjuror. Now she did believe that Signor Brunoni was at the bottom of it."

One afternoon, about five o'clock, we were startled by a hasty knock at the door. Miss Matey bade me run and tell Martha on no account to open the door till she (Miss Matey) had reconnoitered through the window; and she armed herself with a footstool to drop down on the head of the visitor, in case he should show a face covered with black crape; as he looked up in answer to her inquiry of who was there. But it was nobody but Miss Pole and Betty. The former came upstairs, carrying a little hand-basket, and she was evidently in a state of great agitation.

"Take care of that!" said she to me, as I offered to relieve her of her basket. "It's my plate. I am sure there is a plan to rob my house to-night. I am come to throw myself on your hospitality, Miss Matey. Betty is going to sleep with her cousin at the George. I can sit up here all night, if you will allow me; but my house is so far from any neighbours; and I don't believe we could be heard if we screamed ever so!"

"But," said Miss Matey, "what has alarmed you so much? Have you seen any men lurking about the house?"

"Oh yes!" answered Miss Pole. "Two very bad-looking men have gone three times past the house, very slowly; and an Irish beggar-woman came not half an hour ago, and almost forced herself in past Betty, saying her children were starving, and she must speak to the mistress; you see, she said 'mistress,' though there was a hat hanging up in the hall, and it would have been more natural to have said 'master.' But Betty shut the door in her face, and came up to me, and we got the spoons together, and sat in the parlour-window watching, till we saw Thomas Jones going from his work, when we called to him and asked him to take care of us into the town."

We might have triumphed over Miss Pole, who had professed such bravery until she was frightened; but we were too glad to perceive that she had shared in the weaknesses of humanity to exult over her; and I gave up my room to her very willingly, and shared Miss Matey's bed for the night. But before we retired, the two ladies rummaged up, out of the recesses of their memory, such horrid stories of robbery and murder, that I quite quaked in my shoes. Miss Pole was evidently anxious to prove that such terrible events had occurred within her experience that she was justified in her sudden panic; and Miss Matey did not like to be outdone, and capped every story with one yet more horrible, till it reminded me, oddly enough, of an old story I had read somewhere, of a nightingale and a musician, who strove one against the other which could produce the most admirable music, till poor Philomel dropped down dead.

One of the stories that haunted me for a long time afterwards, was of a girl, who was left in charge of a great old house in Cumberland, on some particular fair day, when the other servants all went off to the gaieties. The family were away in London, and a pedlar came by, and asked to leave his large and heavy pack in the kitchen, saying, he would call for it again at night; and the girl (a gamekeeper's daughter) roaming about in search of amusement, chanced to hit upon a gun hanging up in the hall, and took it down to look at the chasing; and it went off through the open kitchen door, hit the pack, and a slow dark thread of blood came oozing out. (How Miss Pole enjoyed this part of the story, dwelling on each word as if she loved it!) She rather hurried over the further account of the girl's bravery, and I have a confused idea that, somehow, she baffled the robbers with Italian irons, heated red hot, and then restored to blackness by being dipped in grease. We parted for the night with an awe-struck wonder as to what we should hear in the morning—and, on my part, with a vehement desire for the night to be over and gone; I was so afraid lest the robbers should have seen, from some dark lurking place, that Miss Pole had carried off her plate, and thus have a double motive for attacking our house.

But, until Lady Glenmire came to call next day, we heard of nothing unusual. The kitchen fire-irons were in exactly the same position against the back door, as when Martha and I had skilfully piled them up like spillikins, ready to fall with an awful clatter, if only a cat had touched the outside panels. I had wondered what we should all do if thus awakened and alarmed, and had proposed to Miss Matey that we should cover up our faces under the bed-clothes, so that there should be no danger of the robbers thinking that we could identify them; but Miss Matey, who was trembling very much, scouted this idea, and said we owed it to society to apprehend them, and that she should certainly do her best to lay hold of them, and lock them up in the garret till morning.

When Lady Glenmire came, we almost felt jealous of her. Mrs. Jamieson's house had really been attacked; at least there were men's footsteps to be seen on the flower-borders, underneath the kitchen windows, "where nae men should be:" and Carlo had barked all through the night as if strangers were abroad. Mrs. Jamieson had been awakened by Lady Glenmire, and they had rung the bell which communicated with Mr. Mulliner's room, in the third story, and when his night-capped head had appeared over the bannisters, in answer to the summons, they had told him of their alarm, and the reasons for it; whereupon he retreated into his bed-room, and locked the door (for fear of draughts, as he informed in the morning), and opened the window, and called out valiantly to say, if the supposed robbers would come to him, he would fight them; but, as Lady Glenmire observed, that was but poor comfort, since they would have to pass by Mrs. Jamieson's room and her own, before they could reach him, and must be of a very pugnacious disposition indeed, if they neglected the opportunities of robbery presented by the unguarded lower stories to go up to a garret, and there force a door, in order to get at the champion of the house. Lady Glenmire, after waiting and listening for some time in the drawing-room, had proposed to Mrs. Jamieson that they should go to bed; but that lady said she should not feel comfortable unless she sat up and watched; and accordingly, she packed herself warmly up on the sofa, where she was found by the housemaid, when she came into the room at six o'clock, fast asleep; but Lady Glenmire went to bed, and kept awake all night.

When Miss Pole heard of this, she nodded her head in great satisfaction. She had been sure we should hear of something happening in Cranford that night; and we had heard. It was clear enough they had first proposed to attack her house; but when they saw that she and Betty were on their guard, and had carried off the plate, they had changed their tactics and gone to Mrs. Jamieson's, and no one knew what might have happened if Carlo had not barked, like a good dog as he was! Poor Carlo! his barking days were nearly over. Whether the gang who infested the neighbourhood were afraid of him; or whether they revengeful enough for the way in which he had baffled them on the night in question to poison him; or whether, as some among the more uneducated people thought, he died of apoplexy brought on by too much feeding and too little exercise; at any rate, it was certain that two days after this eventful night Carlo was found dead, with his poor little legs stretched out stiff in the attitude of running, as if by such unusual exertion he could escape the fell pursuer, Death. We were all sorry for Carlo, the old familiar friend who had snapped at us for so many years; and the mysterious mode of his death made us very uncomfortable. Could Signor Brunoni be at the bottom of this? He had apparently killed a canary with only a word of command; his will seemed of deadly force; who knew but what he might yet be lingering in the neighbourhood willing all sorts of evil things! We whispered these fancies among ourselves in the evenings; but in the mornings our courage came back with the daylight, and in a week's time we had got over the shock of Carlo's death; all but Mrs. Jamieson. She, poor thing, felt it as she had felt no event since her husband's death; indeed, Miss Pole said, that as the Honourable Mr. Jamieson drank a good deal, and occasioned her much uneasiness, it was possible that Carlo's death might be the greater affliction. But there was always a tinge of cynicism in Miss Pole's remarks. However, one thing was clear and certain; it was necessary for Mrs. Jamieson to have some change of scene; and Mr. Mulliner was very impressive on this point, shaking his head whenever he inquired after his mistress, and speaking of her loss of appetite and bad nights very ominously; and with justice too, for if she had two characteristics in her natural health, they were a facility for eating and sleeping. If she could neither eat nor sleep, she must be indeed out of spirits and out of health. Lady Glenmire (who had evidently taken very kindly to Cranford), did not like the idea of Mrs. Jamieson's going to Cheltenham, and more than once insinuated pretty plainly that it was Mr. Mulliner's doing, who had been much alarmed on the occasion of the house being attacked, and since had said, more than once, that he felt it a very responsible charge to have to defend so many women. However, Mrs. Jamieson went to Cheltenham escorted by Mr. Mulliner; and Lady Glenmire remained in possession of the house, her ostensible office being to take care that the maid-servants did not pick up followers. She made a very pleasant-looking dragon; and, as soon as it was arranged for her to stay in Cranford, she found out that Mrs. Jamieson's visit to Cheltenham was just the best thing in the world. She had let her house in Edinburgh, and was for the time houseless, so the charge of her sister-in-law's comfortable abode was very convenient and acceptable.—*Household Words.*

THE WOMEN'S APPEAL FOR THE MAINE LAW.

Written by Mrs. Stanton and read by Miss Vaughn, in the Assembly Chamber, January 21.

To the Honourable the Legislature of the State of New York:

THIS is, I believe, the first time in the history of our State, that Woman has come before this Honourable body to state the legal disabilities under which, as women, we have thus far lived and laboured. Though our grievances are many and our causes of complaint, if set forth, would be as numerous as those made by our forefathers against their King; yet, in behalf of the women of this State, I appeal to you at this time, for the redress of those only, growing out of the legalized traffic in ardent spirits. We come not now to tell you of orphan's tears, widow's groans, and the blasted hopes of wives and and mothers. We come not now with statistics to prove to you the enormity of this traffic, its pecuniary loss to state, family, and individual. Nor the amount of crime and misery it brings with it. No! oceans of eloquence have already been poured out, and volumes of statistics written on this question. You all know the wretchedness and poverty produced by this traffic, therefore we come not to reiterate what has been said a thousand times before, but we come to propose to you to do for us one of two things, either to remodel your State Constitution, that woman may vote on this great political and social evil, and thus relieve herself of the terrible injustice that now oppress her, or, be in fact what, as men, you now claim to be, her faithful representatives, her legal protectors, her chivalrous knights.

If you wisely choose the first opposition, and thus relieve yourselves of the burden of all special legislation for one million and a half of disenfranchised subjects, giving us equal rights, as citizens, with all "white male citizens," then we have nothing to ask. Our course, under such circumstances, would be clear and simple. We should not long stand gaping into the heavens, as our temperance saints now do, voting rum into high places, and then praying it to walk out. But if you still hug the delusion, that you can legislate for us far better than we could for ourselves, and still insist on looking after our best interests and protecting us in our sacred rights, at least permit us, from time to time, to tell you of our wants and needs. For, is it not fair to infer that, in the progress of the race, as man is continually demanding for himself more enlarged liberty, that as his whole being developes he requires new modes of action, and new laws to govern him, that woman, too, following in the wake of her liege lord, may, in the course of human events, require some new privileges and immunities?

1st. Then, as our "faithful representatives," we ask you to give us the Maine Law, which has been so glorious in its results in those States where it has been fairly tried. Now that we see a door of escape open, from the long line of calamities that intemperance has brought upon the head of woman, we would fain enter in and be at peace. We have long and impatiently waited for you to take some effective action on the abominable traffic; and now, feeling that the time has fully come, we pray you to act promptly and wisely. Let the work of to-day tell on all coming generations—that each one composing this august body may be enshrined, with a grateful remembrance, in the hearts of thousands, and thus form a more glorious era on the pages of future history than even the Revolution of 1776. But if you are not prepared to give us the Maine Law, and thus suppress the traffic altogether, then, as you love justice, remove from it all protection. Do not legalise it in any way. Let the trade be free, and then let all contracts in which rum is involved be null and void. A man cannot come into court with his gambling debts—neither let him with his rum debts; for what better is rum-selling than gambling, or the rumseller than the gamester? Then, do away with all license laws, and take no cognisance of the monster evil—for what a government licenses, it does not condemn. Now, this traffic is either right or wrong. If right, let it be subject to the same laws as all other articles of commerce; if wrong, let those who carry it on be treated as criminals by the government, throwing on them the responsibility of all the pauperism and crime they directly or indirectly produce.

The present position of our Government on this subject is most discouraging to the friends of temperance, and shows a lamentable want of high moral tone in those who make our laws, or those who make our law-makers. To make provision as to how or by whom this traffic shall be carried on, is to recognise, in a certain class of men, the right to take the lives and property of their fellows. Upon what principle do our rumsellers and distillers form themselves into a great monopoly in our midst, to work all manner of evil, to sow death and destruction on all sides? Because they are a majority, must we, a virtuous minority, submit to all kinds of imposition? Shall an apothecary be required to label his poisons, while the stamp of the Empire State shall recommend those of the rumseller? Shall one pig in a respectable sty, because, forsooth, he is an offence to some lordly nose in the neighbourhood, be removed by law as a nuisance, while these pestilential distilleries are allowed to remain in our midst, infecting the atmosphere for miles around with their loathsome, disgusting odour—a stench in the nostrils of whole communities? Verily are these distillers and rumsellers special pets of this Government. No other class of men could make themselves so disgusting to a community without being voted a nuisance at once, and disposed of as such. Now, we ask you, as our representatives, to divorce yourself wholly from this abominable traffic. If you have not the strength to cut off the head of the giant, and kill him outright, then turn your backs upon him, and refuse to shake hands with him in the market place.

But, above all, we conjure you not to let this session pass without giving us a law making drunkenness a just cause of divorce. Such a law would be far greater in its permanent results than the Maine law even. Suppose we have the Maine Law to-day; you have then disposed of all intoxicating drinks; but you have still the animal natures—the morbid appetites for stimulants and excitement entailed on generation after generation, which will work themselves out in some direction. But, back up the Maine Law by the more important one on Divorce, and you make a permanent reform, in so regulating your laws on marriage, that, in your opinion, it is a crime so enormous as to furnish just cause for the separation of man and wife. Inasmuch as such a law would be imperceptible to the mass, in its first effects, it would meet but with little opposition, and, once passed, we have no fears that it would ever be repealed. It would be one of those onward steps never to be retaken.

2d. As our legal protectors, we ask you to release us from taxation. Under the present system, the drunkard's wife is doubly taxed. As she has no right to what she has helped to earn, the rum-seller can take all she has for her husband's debts, and leave her to-day houseless, homeless and penniless. If then, as a widow, she have the energy to earn for herself and children a home of her own, then comes the State and taxes her to support prisons, jails and poor-houses. Thus do you permit the rum-seller first to strip her of her legal protector, and then tax her to support the pauperism and crime produced by his traffic. Verily, "no just Government can be formed but by the consent of the governed." If you, gentlemen, were all afflicted with drunkards for your wives, your substance, your daily wages, could not be swept away by the rapacity of the rumseller. You have in your hands the means of self-protection. Not so with us. The law gives to man the right to all he can get, and to what we get, too. The new Property Law protects what we inherit, but not what we jointly earn; hence you see how hopeless is the condition of the drunkard's wife. Look but one moment at her legal position. If she have inherited nothing, she owns nothing, no matter how intelligent, virtuous and industrious she may be; and if the joint property be wholly of her own earning, by your laws it is her husband's, be his character what it may—whether a tipler, a drunkard, or a sot. If she go out to work by the day, she has no right to her wages, and if given to her, by your laws, the husband may collect them again of her employers. Then he may abandon her for years—making no provision for her or her children; and, if he return and find them in comfortable circumstances—by your laws, he may make that home desolate, and spend their scanty earnings in riotous living. If the wife refuse to receive the vagrant as her liege lord, then, by your laws, he can rob her of her children—and no matter how tyrannical, loathsome, and utterly disgusting he may be, by your laws, he is still her husband. And if found guilty of the only crime which gives just cause of divorce, of which your laws take cognizance—she must, even then, pay some thirty dollars, or more, to put asunder what some Priest bound together—for God hath joined those only who are one in spirit, and united by love. Now, I ask you, as men, are these laws just? Are they such as you would like for yourselves? The first object of government is to protect the weak against the strong—but such laws take from the weak all defence—from the helpless all hope—and hundreds of women, this very day, are suffering from this legal bondage. The drunkard's wife sits crushed and hopeless, fearing to break the chains that grate on her naked heart, she dies, the victim of a false public sentiment, whilst the Priest and the Law-giver coolly look on, and pronounce all very good. Seeing that you would consider women voters a terrible scourge on the body politic—if you would not have us press our claims to the exercise of our right to the elective franchise, see that we have justice at your hands. The women of this State are not satisfied with such representation and protection, as we have had thus far; and unless our interests can be better looked after, unless you can give us more equable laws—we demand the right to legislate for ourselves.

3. As our chivalrous knights, we ask you to go through no dangerous wars to win laurels for our approval; to break no lances, nor to perform any feats, on horse or foot; to risk for us neither your fortunes, your lives, nor your sacred liberty. No! We only ask that in your leisure hours, you will duly consider the unjust laws that now disgrace statute books; that you will unite with us against our national foe, Intemperance; that you will lend us your influence to create a healthful public sentiment, that shall deny to drunkards the right of husbands and fathers; that shall give the drunkard's wife her property without taxation, and her children without fear or molestation. You would fain have woman remain in the retirement of private life—then protect her in her home. You love to look upon her as a sacred being; then make her so in her holiest relations. You wish to think of her as ever pure and virtuous; then help her to fly from all debasing contact and gross surroundings. We ask you to go forth on no Quixotic expedition to attack imaginary foes, or relieve imaginary sufferings. We ask your protection, not against the highway robber or ruthless bandit, but we, the women of the nineteenth century—your mothers, wives and sisters—ask you to throw around us a shield of defence against social tyranny and civil injustice—against a code of laws unworthy NERO himself, so grievious are they in their bearing upon the poor and hopeless of our sex. Alas! that such laws should now bear the sanction of our husbands, sires and sons. Alas! for this proud Republic, if its women, the repository of all that is noble and virtuous in national character, can command no higher honours, no purer homage, no juster laws at your hands.

ELIZABETH C. STANTON.

USURP not the privileges of another.

[For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.]

RIDICULE.

THERE is no weapon's point can give such pain
As Ridicule, in Talent's ruthless hand;
Sooner we'd brave the Passions' fiery band,
And count our martyr-pile a certain gain!
If such its power when urged by careless brain,
What must it be when mad love bears the brand?
Mad, foolish love—to trust its pliant hand
With ready antidotes: alas, how vain!
Ye wedded pairs whose lot is fixed, cast;
Ye hoping, yet half doubting all ye find—
Ye faithful hearts who bear the cutting blast,
And never speak the fullness of your mind—
Here is a voice for each and all of ye,
Victim or victor, that dire weapon flee.

March, 1852.

CUSTOMS OF FRIENDS.

MARRIAGE.

THE members of this Society differ from others in many of their regulations concerning this custom. They differ also in the manner of the celebration of it. And as they differ in these respects, so they experience generally a different result. As a married, they may be said to be, a happy people. Hence the detailers of scandal have rarely had it in their power to promulgate a case of adultery. Nor have the lawyers had an opportunity, in our public courts, to proclaim a Friend's divorce.

George Fox suggested many regulations on this subject. He advised, among other things, when persons had it in contemplation to marry, that they should lay their intention before the monthly meetings both of the men and the women. He advised also, that the consent of their parents should be previously obtained and certified to these. Thus he laid the foundation for greater harmony in the approaching union. He advised, again, that an inquiry should be made, whether the parties were clear of engagements or promises of marriage to others; and, if they were not, that they should be hindered from proceeding. Thus he cut off some of the causes of the interruption of connubial happiness, by preventing uneasy reflections, or suits at law, after the union had taken place. He advised also, in the case of second marriages, that any offspring resulting from the former should have their due rights and a proper provision secured to them, before they were allowed to be solemnized. Thus he gave a greater chance for happiness, by preventing mercenary motives from becoming the causes of the union of husband and wife.

But George Fox, as he introduced these and other salutary regulations on the subject of marriage, so he introduced a new manner of the solemnization of it. He protested against the manner of the world; that is, against the formal prayers and exhortations as they were repeated, and against the formal ceremonies as they were practised, by the parish priest. He considered that it was God who joined man and woman before the fall, and that in Christian times, or where the man was truly renovoted in heart, there could be no other right or honourable way of union. Consistently with this view of the subject, he observed, that in the ancient scriptural times, persons took each other in marriage in the assemblies of the elders, and that there was no record, from the book of Genesis to that of Revelations, of any marriage by a priest. Hence it became his new Society, as a religious or renovated people, to abandon apostate usages, and to adopt a manner that was more agreeable to their new state.

George Fox gave, in his own marriage, an example of all that he had thus recommended to the Society. Having agreed with Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell, upon the propriety of their union as husband and wife, "he desired her to send for her children. As soon as they were come, he asked them and their respective husbands, if they had anything against it or for it, desiring them to speak. And they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then he asked Margaret, if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will. She replied, the children knew that. Whereupon he asked them, whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it. And he asked Margaret, whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children. The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired him to speak no more about that. He told them that he was plain, and that he would have all things about him plain, and that he would have all things done plainly, for he sought not any outward advantage to himself. So, after he had acquainted the children with it, their intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly" (*G. Fox's Journal*, vol ii., p. 135); and afterwards, a meeting being appointed for the accomplishment of the marriage, in the public meeting-house at Broad Mead in Bristol, they took each other in marriage, in the plain and simple manner as then practised, and which he himself had originally recommended to his followers.

The regulations concerning marriage, and the manner of the solemnization of it which obtained in the time of George Fox, nearly obtain among Friends at the present day,

When marriage is agreed upon between two persons, the man and the woman, at one of the monthly meetings publicly declare their intention concerning it. At this time their parents, must either appear, or send certificates, to signify their consent. This being done, two men are appointed by the men's meeting, and two women by that of the women, to wait upon the man and woman respectively, and to learn from themselves, as well as by other inquiry, if they stand perfectly clear from any marriage-promises and engagements to others. At the next monthly meeting, the deputation make their report. If either of the parties is reported to have given expectation of marriage to any other individual, the proceedings are stopped till the matter be satisfactorily explained. But if they are both of them reported to be clear in this respect, they are at liberty to proceed, and one or more persons of respectability, of each sex, are deputed to see that the marriage be orderly conducted.

In the case of second marriages, additional instructions are sometimes given; for if any of the parties, thus intimating their intention of marrying, should have children alive, the same persons who were deputed to inquire into their clearness from all other engagements, are to see that the rights of such children be legally secured.

When the parties are considered to be free, by the reports of the deputation, to proceed upon their union, they appoint a suitable day for the solemnization of it, which is generally one of the week-day meetings for worship. On this day, they repair to the meeting-house with their friends. The congregation, when seated, sit in silence. Perhaps some minister is induced to speak. After a suitable time has elapsed, the man and the woman rise up together, and taking each other by the hand, declare publicly that they thus take each other as husband and wife. This constitutes their marriage. A writing is then generally produced and read, though this be not necessary, stating concisely the proceedings of the parties in their respective meetings, for the purpose of their marriage, and the declaration just made by them as having taken each other as husband and wife. This is signed by the parties, their relatives, and frequently by many of their friends and others presens. By way, however, of necessary evidence of their union, another paper is signed in the course of the day, by the man and woman in the presence of three witnesses, who sign it also, in which it is stated that they have so taken each other in marriage. All marriages of other Dissenters are celebrated in the established churches, according to the ceremonies of the same. But the marriages of the members of this Society are valid by law in their own meting-houses, when solemnized in this simple manner.—*Friends' Review.*

BEN. FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO A YOUNG WOMAN.—The Boston *Post* gives five copies of unpublished letters from Dr. Franklin, which have recently been found in that city. The following one seems to have been addressed to a lady with whom he was on intimate terms previous to his marriage, and who was still single at that time:

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16, 1755.

"DEAR KATY: Your favour the 18th June came to hand, but on the 23d September, just three months after it was written. I had two weeks before written you a long letter and sent it to the care of your brother Ward. I hear you are now in Boston, gay and lovely as usual. Let me give you some fatherly advise. Kill no more pigeons than you can eat; be a good girl, and don't forget your catechism, go constantly to meeting or to church till you get a good husband, and then stay at home and nurse the children, and live like a Christian. Spend your spare hours in sober whist, prayers, or learning to cipher. You must practice addition to your husband's estate by industry and frugality—substraction of all unnecessary expenses. Multiplication he will soon make you master of. As to division, I say with brother Paul, "let there be no division among ye," but as your good sister Hubbard—my love to her—is well acquainted with the Rule of Two, I hope you will become as expert in the Rule of Three, that when I have again the pleasure of seeing you, I may find you, like my grape vine, surrounded with clusters, plump, juicy, blushing, pretty little rogues; just like their mama. Adieu, the bell rings, and I must go among the grave ones and talk politics."

"B. F."

USE temporal things, but desire eternal.
USE time as though you know its value.